HUMAN EVENTS

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SPECIAL 25TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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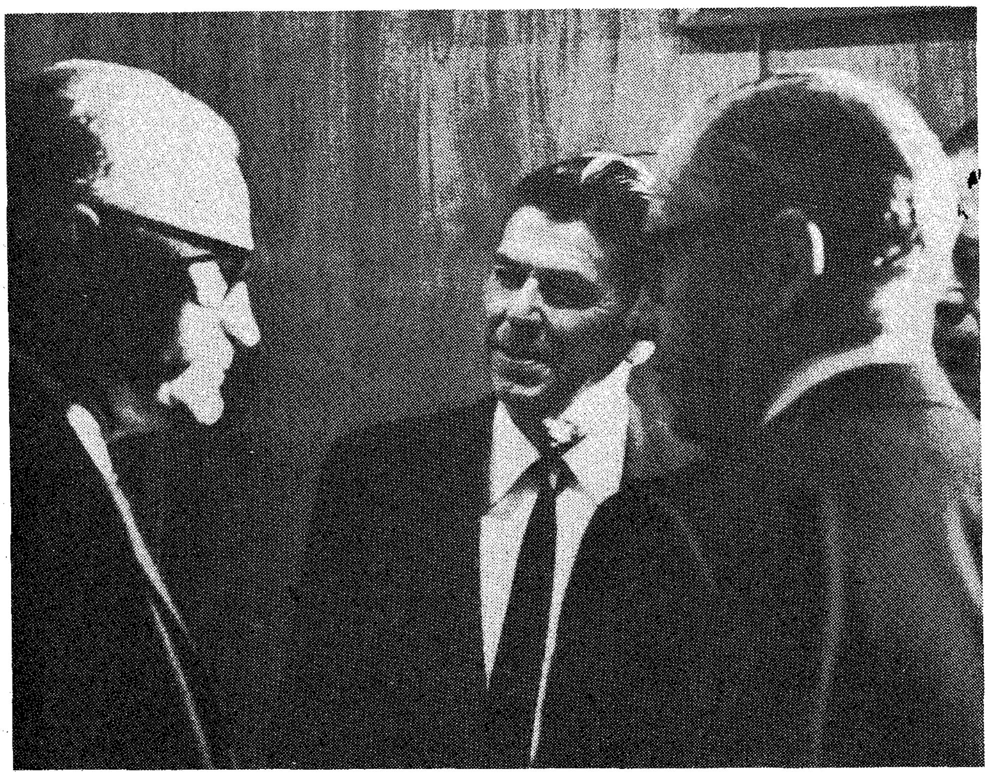
New Conservative Era

A Generation Of Growth

By M. STANTON EVANS



The harsh glare of TV lights outlines Barry Goldwater's profile as he chats with two fellow conservatives, Ronald Reagan and George Murphy (back to camera). The occasion was the 1966 Republican Gala in Washington, D.C.

In the 25 years since *Human Events* was founded, many objectives set forth in its prospectus have been realized. Many others remain to be accomplished.

The generation since 1944 has seen a major transition in American conservatism: The gradual phasing out of the "old guard" whose writ ran back to Hoover and Coolidge, and the dawning of a new era of conservative politics whose pre-eminent spokesmen are Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. On matters of principle, the two schools of conservative thought are closely related; in matters of approach and articulation, they are very different.

Human Events has been a vital link between these dissimilar eras. It helped sustain the principles of limited government and responsible defense of the nation's interests until a new political leadership could emerge, bridging the gap between Robert Taft in the '40s and Goldwater-Reagan in the '60s.

When this publication was launched with the help of Hoover, Gen. Robert Wood, J. Howard Pew and others, it was a struggling enterprise. Its first office was the apartment of editor Frank C. Hanighen, and its circulation was counted in the hundreds. Over the years *Human Events* has grown in scope and influence, and its advance supplies both a reason for and a measure of the steady march of the conservative enterprise.

Conservative history has wheeled through a cycle of regeneration. As the "old guard" variant declined, encouraging liberal belief that the philosophy was doomed forever, the new guard, unnoticed, had begun to spring to life.

In part these changes have been owing to differences in objective circumstances: Shifts in population mix and therefore in that kind of political attitude derived from economic interest; the manifest failure of leftward programs to solve the problems they are supposed to solve; the speed with which events have outstripped the liberal analysis of the world in which we live and its resistant difficulties.

All these have contributed not only to the growth of conservatism, but to the rise of a substantially different kind of conservatism.

These things alone do not account, however, for the recent waxing of conservative strength.

Equally important has been the investment of enthusiasm and energy by the partisans of what one historian described as the thankless persuasion. Conservatism is considerably more appealing as a political formula today than when the historian's verdict was rendered, chiefly because conservatives themselves have refused to accept that verdict.

Although various commentators have reasons to ignore conservatism and resolutely insist on doing so, any objective observer can testify to the change. It has dawned on usually liberal journalists like Joseph Alsop and Tom Wicker, journals like *Time* and *Fortune*—even *The New Republic*.

Thus *Time* suggested at mid-point in last year's election that Barry Goldwater had been four years before his time and that "the American electorate has moved sharply rightward since Goldwater's conservative banner had waved

(*Continued on following page*)

About the Author

Mr. Evans, a former managing editor of **Human Events** and now a contributing editor, was graduated from Yale in 1955, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa. In 1959 he left **Human Events** to accept his present position as editor of the Indianapolis **News**. He received the Freedoms Foundation award in 1959 and 1960 for his editorials and, in the latter year, also won the National Headliners Club award for "consistently outstanding editorial pages." He is the author of **Revolt on the Campus, The Liberal Establishment** and **The Politics of Surrender** and co-author of **The Committee and Its Critics, The Fringe on Top** and **The Law-Breakers.** Mr. Evans' many articles and reviews have appeared in many national magazines, including **Modern Age, Christian Economics, The Freeman, The Individualist** and **National Review,** of which he is an associate editor. Mr. Evans is in great demand as a speaker and has addressed scores of campus audiences throughout the country.

This television film clip was taken at the Sixth Human Events Political Action Conference in July 1963. At far left is keynoter Adm. Ben Moreell, while Frank Hanighen greets Sen. Barry Goldwater at the speaker's rostrum at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C.

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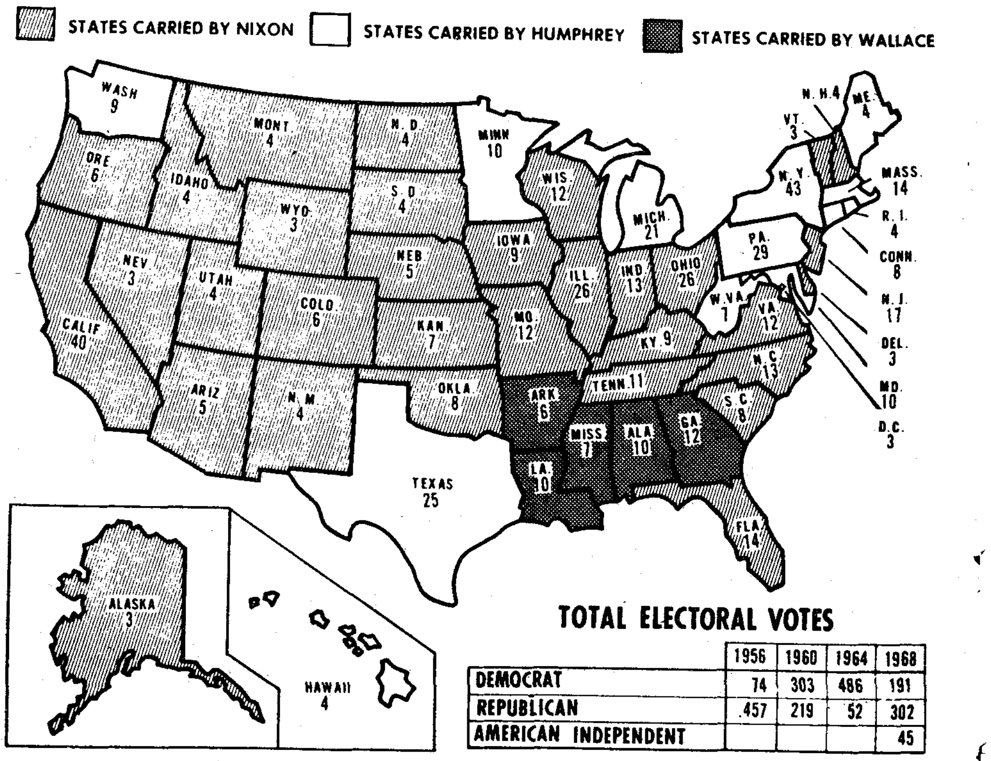
1968 ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATES



TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES

	1956	1960	1964	1968
DEMOCRAT	74	303	486	191
REPUBLICAN	.457	219	52	302
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT				45

for naught in 1964." Countless such assertions could be cited from other liberal spokesmen.

In 1944 one could find few expressions like this from conservative sources; much less from liberal ones. There was not much by way of self-conscious conservatism; few political organizations dedicated to conservatism, no functioning conservative publication, no conservative youth activity.

Today there are numerous publications and groups engaged in disseminating the conservative point of view. There are groups which work with Congress, in the realm of practical politics, on theoretical matters, on foreign policy, on domestic questions, on the campus. The total record of growth is impressive.

The easiest way to judge this transformation is to look at the political record.

In 1944 Franklin Roosevelt was President of the United States, gearing up for the series of post-war conferences in which liberal foreign policy doctrine was put to the test of practice and from which it was to emerge as a resounding failure. Although domestic changes were somewhat in abeyance because of the war, the social engineers of the New and Fair Deals were laying plans for peacetime welfare initiatives, seeking to use the network of wartime regulations to collectivist advantage.

The Republican party of that era featured some congressional leaders of conservative outlook, principally Taft; but the presidential wing of the party was firmly under liberal domination. Wendell Willkie had been the party nominee in 1940 and was still a major force in the GOP. Thomas Dewey was to capture the nomination in 1944 and again in 1948, and would help to engineer the Eisenhower victory over Taft in 1952. At the national level, the Republican party during this period presented little serious challenge to the liberal rulers of the nation.

The Deweyite approach of emulating the Democratic opposition, with a few changes of rhetoric and some sober promises to administer things better, did not prove appetizing to American voters. Nor was Republican strength in Congress particularly impressive. The GOP had in part rebounded from its low marks of the '30s, but the crushing loss of '48 wiped out its gains and restored it to minority status.

It was not until the development of the new Republican conservatism that the GOP began to make stable and substantial gains in the battle for control of Congress.

The nature of the change in the presidential arena is simply stated: In 1944 the liberals controlled the Republican party and the party did not gain control of the White House; in 1968 the conservatives controlled the Republican party and the party did gain control of the White House.

Dewey was nominated by the Eastern wing of the GOP, ran a campaign aimed at winning liberal votes, and lost the election.

The comparison omits matters of nuance and degree, but nevertheless epitomizes the basic alteration which had occurred in the GOP and in the country.

Political change is seldom unilinear and neat, and the Republican-conservative transformation since '44 has occurred as a series of ebbs and flows rather than as a single decisive thrust. Conservative sentiment has advanced at given periods—only to be pushed back at a subsequent test of strength. In the course of these comings and goings, the "old guard" of Taft and McCarthy was by degrees displaced.

The terminal year for this process was 1958, when William Knowland was defeated in California and John Bricker lost in Ohio. William Jenner had retired that year, and Joe McCarthy had died the year before. With the '58 balloting, the old guard was pretty well eliminated. And since that was the only guise in which many commentators recognized the political Right, they concluded that American conservatism was finished.

That same election, however, saw the faint beginnings of the conservative new guard—not to be recognized as such for several years to come. Barry Goldwater, first elected as an Eisenhower coat-tailer in 1952, won a thumping re-election victory against the national tide. In the months ahead, he was to emerge as *the* conservative leader in American politics, and to give the Right a whole new outlook and ideological style. Goldwater was the first new-breed conservative, and it was under his influence that the Republican party began to build toward new majority status.

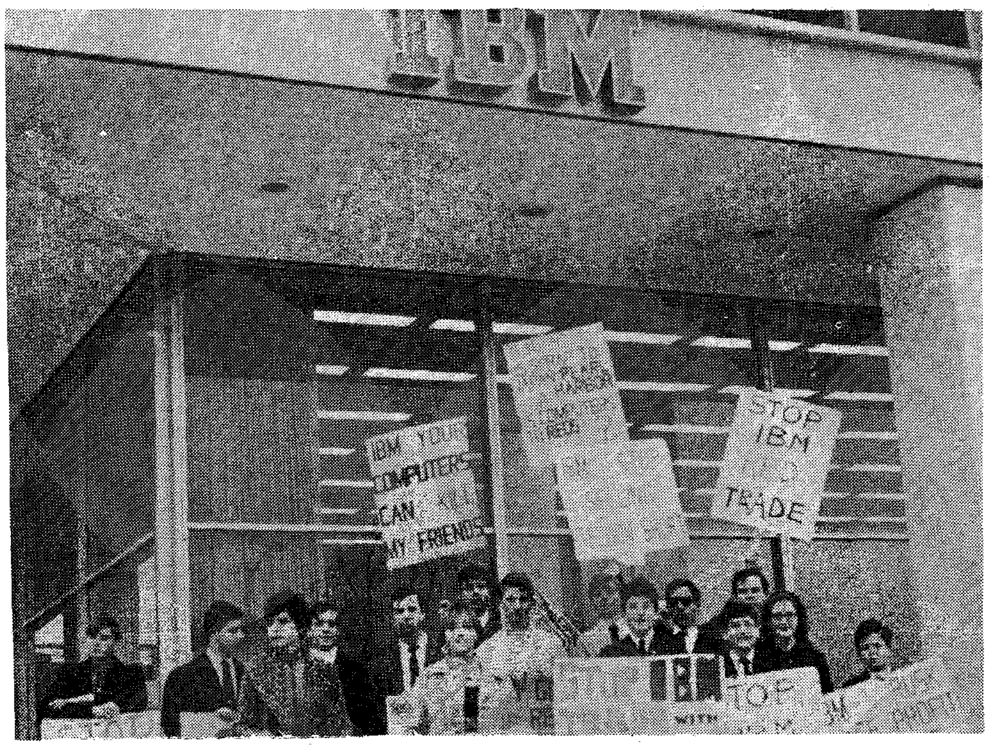
The cataclysm of 1958 occurred because previous Republican victories had not been based on stable foundations.

The victory of '52, like that of '46, had resulted from a kind of flash-flood of political sentiment, without necessary preparation in the realm of ideology or political demographics. The Republican tide rolled in, but the contours of the land could not retain it. By the 1960s these contours had begun to change, so that there is now reason to suppose that GOP gains of recent years, given appropriate effort and resolute leadership, can be made to stick.

The Republican win of '46 embodied a recoil from the astringencies of war, a desire for reversion to the free and normal ways of peace. The victory of '52 involved similar motives, plus the enormous personal appeal of Gen. Eisenhower. As special cases deriving from a temporary interplay of forces, neither supplied a realistic formula for conservative or Republican victory in the future. The victories of '66 and '68, on the other hand, were founded in some elementary and enduring facts of political life.

Republicans gained a congressional landslide in 1966 and a presidential victory in 1968 because the taxpaying sector of American politics has been growing in relative strength and has sought out candidates who will resist the further growth of leviathan government.

(*Continued on page 52*)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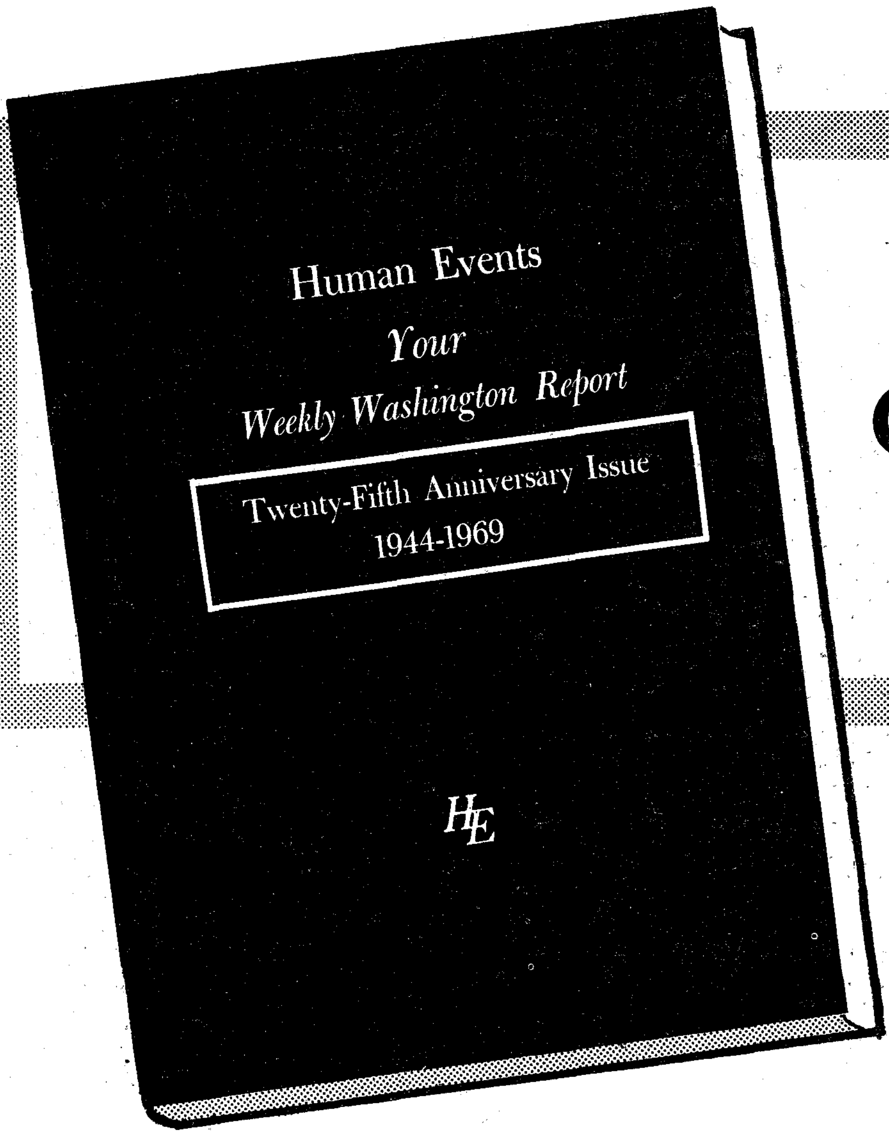
Among the organizations spawned by the rising tide of conservative sentiment is Young Americans for Freedom, founded in Sharon, Conn., in 1960. Since then YAF has been active in promoting a number of pro-freedom causes, including a nationwide drive to halt trade with Communist nations.

Back in 1947, when conservatism as is generally now known was in its political infancy, the spread of communism and subversion was just attracting attention. During the course of House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings on Red infiltration of the movie industry, three actors confer with HCUA chief counsel Robert Stripling (second from right). From left they are George Murphy, Robert Montgomery and Ronald Reagan.



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Four Paths to Greater Effectiveness

The Vital Political Role of Conservative Women

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

What can conservative women do to preserve the freedom and independence of America?

The *first* answer to this question concerns the women who are knowledgeable about world affairs today and who are probably active in one or more patriotic or educational organizations, but who have steered clear of direct political action. These women are urgently needed in politics. The stakes are too great today for them not to be involved.

There was once a famous man who said that there are really only three classes of people in the world: A very small elite group which *makes* things happen, a somewhat larger group which *watches* things happen, and the great multitude which *never knows* what happened. Over the last decade, many thousands of concerned Americans have acquired a good understanding of the various forces at work in our nation and are now in the group which watches things happen.

The only way they can join the elite group which makes things happen is to plunge into political action.

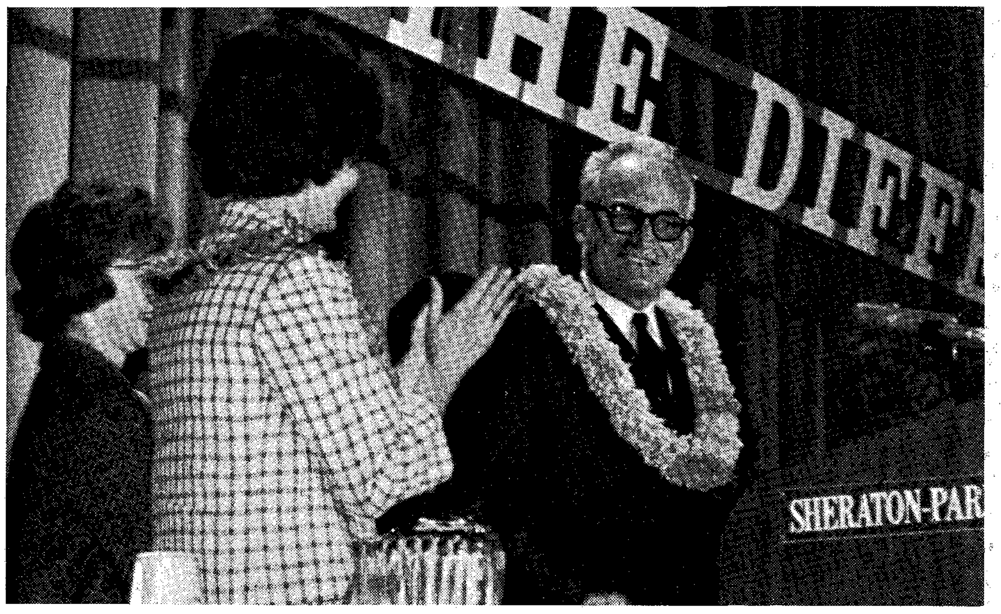
The decision to go into politics is not an easy one. It is terribly time-consuming. It makes you "controversial" and subjects you to financial and social pressures and the glare of unwelcome publicity. It is a challenge for patriots who have courage in crisis and controversy, plus courage to persevere in the face of discouragements. It is much pleasanter to stay in a comfortable home, writing letters and mailing out literature. But political action is the key to whether we survive as a free and independent nation.

The *second* answer to the question of what conservative women can do in politics concerns the thousands of women who are already involved in political action.

For the most part, the Republican party—in which most of these conservatives are active—does not have the countless paid workers available to the Democrats through big-city machines, other political jobs and the unions. The Republican party rides on the shoulders of thousands of volunteers, most of them women, who do the tiresome drudgery of politics: walking precincts, ringing doorbells, distributing literature, making countless telephone calls, manning headquarters, addressing envelopes, stamping and stuffing letters, and doing all the repetitious chores necessary to get out the vote.

About the Author

Phyllis Schlafly has long been active in Republican women's politics on both the state and national levels. A Phi Beta Kappa with a master's degree in political science from Radcliffe College, she is the author of **A Choice Not an Echo** and **Safe—Not Sorry**. In addition, Mrs. Schlafly, together with Adm. Chester Ward, co-authored **The Gravediggers, Strike from Space** and **The Betrayers**, all of which deal with U.S. defense policy. She is a former vice president of the National Federation of Republican Women and was an Illinois delegate to the 1968 GOP National Convention in Miami.



Barry Goldwater gets a hand at an appearance at a 1966 gathering of GOP women in Washington, D.C. Women have provided much of the conservative strength in the party.

The work that these thousands of women have done is measured in the victories of the good candidates who have been nominated and elected. The work is heroic both in terms of cumulative accomplishments and in the self-sacrifice of the individual women. Republicans simply cannot win any elections without the dedicated, generous help of the volunteers who give part of their lives for the cause of good government through the Republican party.

The trouble is that conservative women do not carry the political clout in the Republican party to which their tremendous work entitles them. Many are fed the absurd line that they are bound to work for any candidate who gets the Republican nomination, but should have no share in the choosing of the nominees. This leaves the power to choose candidates and determine policies in the hands of the party payrollers and political technicians. This is wrong. Politics is too important to be left to the politicians.

Here are some of the avenues which conservative women can pursue in order to realize the full effectiveness of the work they are already doing.

1. Insist on the change of policies and personnel which Richard Nixon promised the voters he would bring about after his election as President. Conservatives worked hard for Nixon because they believed his solemn covenant with the voters that he would give America a complete "housecleaning" in the State Department, a "crusade against crime," "local control" of the schools, the tax level "reduced," a policy of "military superiority" over the Soviet Union, and that the United States would "go ahead at all costs" to build an anti-missile defense system. Through letters, telephone calls, and contacts with public officials, conservative women should remind President Nixon that we are awaiting the fulfillment of his promises.

2. Nominate conservatives in the primaries. The talents and energies of conservative women should be applied to the prime objective of making sure that men and women of principle receive the party nomination for every office.

The political facts of life are that, while the conservatives work hard for the election of good candidates each November, this is not the liberal objective at all. The liberals work solely for *control* of the Republican and Democratic parties. When they don't get the candidates of their choice, the liberals sit on their hands in the fall campaign.

The important decisions of our time have been made *within*—not between—the Republican and Democratic parties. The key to the attainment of the ideological objectives for which conservatives labor is *control of the Republican party*—and this control is determined in the primary, not in the general election.

Working for the nomination and election of a conservative congressman offers the most ideological mileage of any political endeavor because it gives you the ear of a legislator who casts daily votes affecting America's future. Congressional candidates especially need and appreciate volunteer help. Because they have very little patronage to dispense, most of the attention, effort, and funds of the regular party organization are spent on other candidates. We must elect more conservative congressmen in 1970.

3. Elect women to public office. Here is a tremendous opportunity and a great need: women as congressmen, state legislators, and other state and local offices such as boards of education and city councils. Women will continue to be ignored in the centers of political power until they hold a substantial percentage of public offices. Unfortunately, the last decade has seen a declining number of women in elected public office, a phenomenon for which there seems to be no explanation. If we had 20 women in Congress like Rep. Charlotte Reid (R.-Ill.), the whole complexion of national politics could change overnight.

4. Elect women to party positions. In many states, the party organization is rigged so that the positions of importance and power on each level are held by men who are elected—and the women function merely as their appointees. Efforts should be made at every level to secure equal status for women in party positions of importance. More women should strive for the elected positions now held by the men, and more women should support those who do. In Michigan and Nebraska, for example, the post of Republican state chairman has recently been held by a woman. In Houston, the post of Harris County chairman is held by a woman.

At the national level, it is regrettable that the proportion of women on the Republican National Committee has been reduced from one-half to one-third (by the addition of the state chairmen, but not the state vice chairmen who are women). It is deplorable that there are only three women on the prestigious Republican Coordinating Committee.

The State Republican Finance Committees always exercise considerable leverage in party decisions, because he who pays the piper calls the tune. While it is probably impractical for a woman to hold the post of state finance chairman, it is vitally important that women have their fair share of positions on the finance committees so they can wield their fair share of the power.

Why should conservative women seek party positions traditionally held by men? In order to (a) be the conscience of the Republican party, and (b) exercise the clout.

Women can raise the moral tone of politics. They keep their ideals while playing the game. And in these party positions, they will be able to participate in selecting candidates, determining party policies and dispensing patronage. This is what politics is all about.

5. Delegates to the National Convention. The area of party organization where women have been most effective is as delegates to the Republican National Convention. In the 1964 convention, there were 234 women out of 1,308 delegates, and in 1968 there were 230 women out of 1,333 delegates. Women tend to be more conservative than men, and the sizable number of women delegates in those conventions is a major reason why both those conventions rejected the New York kingmakers' candidates and nominated men from the conservative wing of the party.

Beginning with the 1964 Republican National Convention, the rules accord women equal status with the men on the four convention committees: Platform, Credentials, Rules, and Permanent Organization. Each state may appoint one man and one woman to each committee; if a woman delegate is not available, a man may not be substituted. This excellent rule has helped to increase the number of women delegates.

One of the most fearless and successful newspapermen of our time was Richard Amberg, publisher of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* until his untimely death in 1968. He was a great advocate of women in politics. His favorite quotation has special application to the role of conservative women:

"Courage is a virtue which the young cannot spare. To lose it is to grow old before your times. It is better to make a thousand mistakes, and to suffer a thousand defeats, than to run away from battle."

Conservative women must never run away from the political battle. Nothing we give our children in the way of food, clothes, home, education, or other enrichment will be worth as much to them as the opportunity to grow up in a free and independent America. How hard we fight the political battle is the measure of how much we care.

Our President and his Cabinet are under tremendous pressures from the liberal communications media and their echoes in Congress to continue the disastrous Democratic policies of disarmament, debt and diplomatic defeats. The first task of conservative women is to see that our country is given the change for which the people voted last November.

The Disaster That Was Warren

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

With Earl Warren's retirement this ummer as chief justice of the United States, legal historians will loose a torent of histories of "the Warren Court." The appellation will find abundant support. For good or ill, an era is ending; and whatever impression may have been made in this time by four Presidents, the era preeminently will bear Earl Warren's mark.

Warren is the 13th man to serve as chief justice. Only three others have served longer in the post: John Marshall, from 1801 to 1835; Roger Taney, from 1836 to 1864; and Melville Fuller, over the 21 years from 1888 to 1910. Yet historians seldom think of the "Fuller Court" or the "Taney Court." You have to go back to Marshall himself to find a period in the court's history when a chief so stamped his name upon the law.

Every schoolboy knows the milestones Marshall erected: *Marbury* vs. *Madison, M'Culloch* vs. *Maryland, Cohens* vs. *Virginia, Gibbons* vs. *Ogden, Martin* vs. *Hunter's Lessee*. Marshall fixed the course of the Constitution—indeed of the Union. And every schoolboy knows of the bitterness that swirled about John Marshall's head. To his admirers, he was a Federalist angel and a legal genius; to his critics, he was the devil incarnate. Thomas Jefferson, who despised him, saw Marshall as a miner and sapper, engaged in destruction of the Supreme law of the land. One found no middle ground. You were for John Marshall or against him.

Over the past 16 years, since Earl Warren succeeded Fred Vinson in 1953, roughly the same situation has prevailed. The milestone cases of the Warren Court have found their way into everyday speech: *Brown* vs. *Board of Education, Baker* vs. *Carr, Escobedo* vs. *Illinois, Griswold* vs. *Connecticut*. One does not have to be a student of the law to recognize *Gideon, Mapp, Miranda, Ginzburg*. The landmark cases have piled on one another, thick as skyscrapers in Manhattan, changing the whole skyline of our law.

And like Marshall, Warren has encountered neither faint praise nor mild damnation. In the view of liberals, Warren is the great surgeon whose deft operations upon the Constitution have restored an aging patient to the full vigor of life.

Conservatives see the period in quite a different light. We see the time of Earl Warren as a time of disaster in the law; and we look upon these famous milestones as fateful markers on the road toward judicial usurpation.

If this view were cherished only by a few disgruntled Southerners, still incensed at *Brown* vs. *Board of Education*, the critical view might be discounted. What is seldom understood—and needs to be understood—is that the South's bleak appraisal is widely shared. It is difficult to pick up a law journal, or to attend a meeting of the bar, without hearing the Warren Court stingingly assailed by responsible scholars and lawyers across the nation.

Nor is this a new thing. As far back as August 1958 the Conference of [State] Chief Justices met at Pasadena. With only a handful of dissenting votes, the state's top judicial officers delivered themselves of an unprecedented reproach:

"We urge the desirability of self-restraint on the part of the Supreme Court in the exercise of the vast powers committed to it. . . .

"We are not alone in our view that the Court, in many cases arising under the 14th Amendment, has assumed what seem to us primarily legislative powers. (See Judge Learned Hand on the Bill of Rights.) We do not believe that either the framers of the original Constitution or the possibly less gifted draftsmen of the 14th Amendment ever contemplated that the Supreme Court would, or should, have the almost unlimited policy-making powers which it now exercises.

"It is strange, indeed, to reflect that under a Constitution which provides for a system of checks and balances and of distribution of power between national and state governments, one branch of government—the Supreme Court—should attain the immense, and in many respects dominant, power which it now wields."

The state chief justices went on to rebuke the Warren Court for its apparent impatience with the slow workings of our federal system and for its tendency so frequently to overturn decisions of the past. This was in 1958. There is nothing to suggest that the Pasadena Report had any constructive effect upon the court's liberal bloc.

In the ensuing decade the court persisted in the very course the state chief justices had protested. The criticism continued also, notably from within the court itself. One has only to leaf through the dissenting opinions of Frankfurter, Harlan, Clark, Stewart, White and Black to obtain a vivid picture of the revisionists at work.

Why has this period, in the conservative view, been such a disaster?

The broad answer is that under the leadership of Chief Justice Warren, the court repeatedly has violated—grossly violated—the unwritten rules of jurisprudence that are the foundation of stability in our law.

Most of these rules are based in an implicit awareness of the vast powers of the judges; they are based also in a realistic recognition that these powers are virtually beyond reach of formal restraint. As Prof. Fred Rodell has observed, members of the High Court are in fact "irresponsible"—they are appointed, not elected; they do not serve for limited terms, but for life; only in theory are they subject to impeachment.

None of the constitutional safeguards against judicial abuse has proved effective. One such barn-door device is the power of the people to amend the Constitution in order to overthrow an objectionable decision; the exercise of that power produced the 11th, 16th and 24th Amendments—but the path of corrective constitutional amendment is beset with overwhelming difficulty.

Another safeguard lies in the power of the Congress to enlarge the size of the court, with a view toward packing it with judges of a different disposition; this power, too, has been exercised, but not in a hundred years. The Congress also has power to limit the court's appellate jurisdiction; but like the other safeguards, the power is vain and ineffective once the court has acted.

The impotence of these paper barricades led to development of the unwritten rules: The court shall respect the will and wisdom of the Congress and not lightly overthrow congressional enactments. The court shall respect the principles of federalism, and give the states great leeway in the management of their own affairs. The court shall not impose judicial mandates in essentially political fields. The court shall not decide constitutional issues needlessly.

More than anything, members of the court shall not impose their own notions of wise public policy upon the cases presented to them: They will strive to say only what the law *is*, and not what they believe the law desirably should be. In constitutional questions especially, they will rely primarily upon the intention of the framers and the ratifiers, keeping constantly in mind the line that separates interpretation from effective amendment.

In the end, the rules boil down to a single commandment: Judges shall exercise consummate self-restraint. This is the commandment the Warren Court has tossed aside.

Is it seriously argued that the framers and ratifiers of the 14th Amendment ever intended their handiwork to mean what the court now proclaims it to mean? By a process of judicial legerdemain, the court now has magically transposed the first eight amendments to the Constitution, intended solely as restraints upon the federal government, to make these restraints apply to the states as well.

- A great body of law supports the view that free speech never was intended to embrace obscene speech; but the court has largely abandoned that body of law.
- The 4th Amendment does not prohibit all searches and seizures—only those that are "unreasonable"—but the court progressively has crippled the power of law enforcement officials in this regard.
- The 5th Amendment provides that no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, but the court has stretched this provision beyond recognition.
- Under the 6th Amendment, the accused shall enjoy the right to have the assistance of counsel for his defense in all criminal prosecutions, but in *Miranda* these words were given a meaning unknown to the courts before.

There is a saying among lawyers that often it is better to have the law settled than to have the law settled "correctly." The Warren Court has demonstrated small regard for that prudent maxim. Prior decisions of the court repeatedly have been tossed aside.

Whatever may be said by law professors of the brilliance, the boldness, and the flexibility of the court's innovations, something vastly different is said by lawyers who must live with the multiple uncertainties they see around them.

No student of the Supreme Court would suggest that any one of these criticisms is unique to the Warren bloc. Throughout the court's history members regularly have been charged with intruding upon the legislative domain and with usurping the powers of the sovereign states. In the Reconstruction days of Chase, Waite and Fuller, the court was accused of protecting property rights at the expense of human rights; it is not astonishing to see the charge reversed against Warren.

Yet the difference is more than merely a difference in degree. Under Warren's administration, a dozen lines of criticism have converged at the same critical point. The charge is that Warren and his friends inherited a priceless ideal—an ideal compounded like other ideals of myth, reality, fulfillment and failure, but nonetheless priceless: the ideal that ours is a government of law. And they made it, instead, a government of men.

The Warren Era may come to an end this summer with the chief justice's retirement and the expected departure of one or more associate justices later. But, in columnist Kilpatrick's view, the damage has been done.

Publisher Ralph Ginzburg, who has figured in many court cases involving pornography, was involved in one of the many landmark decisions handed down by the Warren Court.

For biographical information on Mr. Kilpatrick, please see page 61.

Progressive Education: Its Decline and Fall

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

Progressive Education is like a cat.

It's quiet and sneaky, gumshoeing around on padded paws and jumping on you when you least expect it. It has an uncanny ability to fall almost any distance and still land on its feet. And it possesses at least nine lives, as I can ruefully testify.

Historically, it's the offspring of John Dewey's "utilitarianism." Dewey preached relativism. To him, there were no eternal truths, no lasting values, no absolute standards. Education thus became adjustment to environment, and was sold in that seductive package to a whole generation of educators. Subject matter became relatively unimportant, especially when compared to such glittering goals of the instructional process as togetherness, "life adjustment" and the happy, comfortable acceptance of the child by his "peer group."

This was the Gospel According to St. John, as interpreted to the unwashed masses by Dewey's Three Apostles: William Kilpatrick, George Counts and Harold Rugg. Catlike in this as in all things, it littered over the decades such educational oddities as "group dynamics," "fusion courses," and more recently "sensitivity training." It warred ceaselessly and stealthily on report cards, letter grades, phonics, classroom discipline, and examinations.

If anyone believes that the ubiquity of Progressive Education for the past 25 years has no connection with the prevalence today of campus anarchy and obscenity, he has a far greater and more touching faith in the power of coincidence than I do.

The irony implicit in the whole much-ballyhooed movement was the sublime confidence of its protagonists that the widespread adoption of their philosophy by American education would produce the best-adjusted, most law-abiding young people in history. After all, the cheerful, easy adjustment of the child to his environment was the slogan and the shibboleth of the Progressivists. Surely the results of such an educational regimen would inevitably be a record crop of young Americans who would abhor violence, eschew crime, and cooperate with everybody.

Well, the results of the last quarter-century are now in, and I will leave it up to the reader to decide for himself whether the current generation is less violent, less criminal and more cooperative than its predecessors.

What price Progressive Education, if this is all it has to show for its years of power and the billions it has spent?

Of late, and to a large extent because the eyes of John Q. Public have been rudely opened by the continuing campus convulsions, a counteroffensive has been mounted against the Dewey-eyed disciples of permissivism. In California, some of us fighting under the banner of "Education in Depth" clashed shield to shield and helm to helm with Progressive Education a few years back, and brought it crashing heavily to earth.

Our new philosophy began then to spread east across the country, borne on the wings of its California accomplishments to date: annual statewide reading, mathematics and English tests for all pupils; new, stiff, subject-matter requirements for the would-be teacher; grammar textbooks as far down as the first grade; geography texts as far down as grade three; the banishment of "social studies" and "language arts" from official terminology on the state level; the final and unregretted demise of "Dick and Jane"; the adoption of state reading texts stressing phonics and the children's classics; new, state-prepared courses in economics.

Still to come and currently in the mill: basic competence tests for new teachers; state-adopted moral and ethical instructional guidelines; a decent, scientific course in human reproduction instead of the raw sex material spread across the land in recent months by S.I.E.C.U.S. like so much malignant margarine. In fact, a program calculated to cause Dr. Dewey to revolve in his grave like an electric fan.

Here for the record are the differences between the two warring philosophies:

Progressive Education is convinced that there are no absolutes, no eternal verities, no positive standards of good or evil. We who uphold the standard of Education in Depth know that there are, and we know too that education exists in part to identify these lasting values and to equip young people to seek after them as long as life itself shall last.

Progressive Education stresses "life adjustment" as the main goal of the instructional process. Education in Depth holds that the teaching of organized, disciplined and systematic subject matter should be the principal objective of the schools.

Progressive Education feels that the curriculum should depend upon the immediate interests of the individual child. Education in Depth wants a curriculum to provide for the child the tools and skills he will need later on to become a cultured and productive citizen.

Progressive Education believes that schools exist to make the individual popular and accepted by the "group." Education in Depth wants to make him learned. Period.

Progressive Education advocates "experiencing" learning through as many sense avenues as possible. Education in Depth thinks this is pretentious jackassery, and regards reading and recitative discussion as the most effective and economical method of instruction.

Progressive Education holds that the pupil should be encouraged to compete only with himself, or rather with his own previous best efforts. Education in Depth believes that the success of the individual in later life depends upon how well he is taught in school to hold his own in an increasingly competitive world.

Why does the California philosophy possess such popular appeal that it has Deweyism in nationwide retreat, looking apprehensively back over a once smug shoulder and whistling nervously to itself? Why, because Education in Depth is essentially what nearly all parents have always wanted for their children. Mark this: The schoolman who dares to unfurl the flag of Education in Depth within the boundaries of his state will certainly focus upon himself the malicious enmity of the professional education Establishment, but he will simultaneously gain the strong and even enthusiastic support of just about everybody else in his state.

I know. It happened to me.

Another thing that is happening these days is a frenzied Establishment counterattack, which goes this way: "Why keep knocking Progressive Education? It's dead. Been dead for years. And even when it was alive, it never was very widespread."

There's about as much truth to this claim as there would be to the report that I am to be selected as the A.F.T. candidate for "Educator of the Year."

It's true that Deweyism is on the run. You'll notice, for example, that it doesn't call itself Progressive Education any more. The national organization operating under that name disbanded some years back. "Bad notices," as *Variety* would phrase it. Far fewer educationists dare to defend "life adjustment" openly, and it's possible now to criticize at least a few of its farther-out aberrations at an educational conference without being relegated automatically to a particularly icy version of Coventry by the horrified delegates.

But to say that Progressive Education is dead just because it has changed its name and hidden behind various aliases is as unwarranted as it would have been for our grandparents to assume that Jesse James was dead because he had changed his name to Mr. Howard and was pretending to be a respectable family man.

In several recent columns, I have carefully documented and described numerous examples of present-day "life adjustment" schooling from various parts of the country. One cited a Maryland assistant superintendent, who was quoted as saying: "In seventh and eighth grades, why not let students study anything of their choice? What they study is not nearly as important as getting into something they're interested in."

Sound familiar? It should.

Then there was the Florida teacher who turned out all the classroom lights while weird pictures floated all over the room. On one wall was a movie about child molestation superimposed upon a travelog on Switzerland. On another wall, slides were flashing. Eerie shapes and colors flickered on and off, while three tape recorders blared at once.

Justification for such headache-producing balderdash follows a yawningly familiar pattern: It presumably makes school "meaningful" for today's bored children, thus causing them to "relate" more "relevantly" to the curriculum, and so on, and on. Ad infinitum, ad nauseam.

All flummery, of course. But evidence that Progressive Education, though perhaps mortally wounded, is far from dead. So go into your local schools. Look around. See for yourself.

Do your local educators claim that "life adjustment" should be the main goal of instruction?

Does your school believe it's more important for your child to become popular than to become learned?

Are things like "social studies" and "language arts" and "orientation" being taught instead of history and geography and civics and English?

Do your school people tell you that report cards are old hat? That homework is "meaningless drudgery"? That phonics is only one of many equally effective ways of teaching children to read?

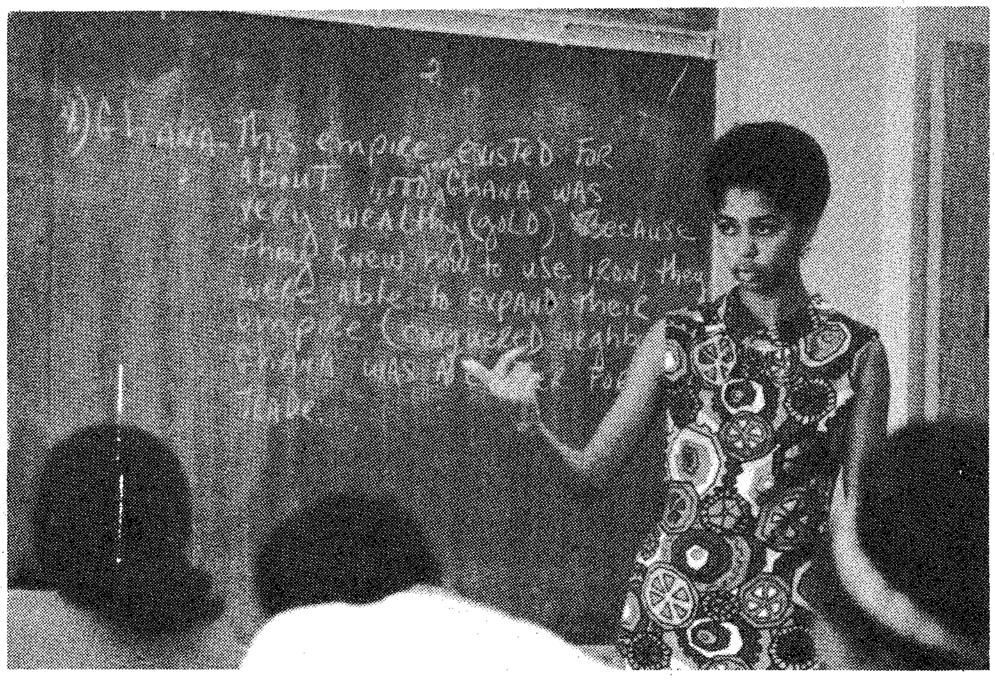
If your answer to any of these questions happens to be "Yes," then you won't have to worry about attending Progressive Education's funeral in your own home town for a while yet. Because no matter what your local superintendent may choose to call it, what you've got in your schools is Progressive Education.

So don't bury this liveliest of all corpses—this cat with nine times nine lives—this craftiest of all masqueraders—until you're sure it's really dead.

Progressive Education started dying when Sputnik first loomed above the world's skyspace. Some of us have been heaving harpoons into it during the decade which has followed. It won't lie down for good until you yourself force it to, right in your own community.

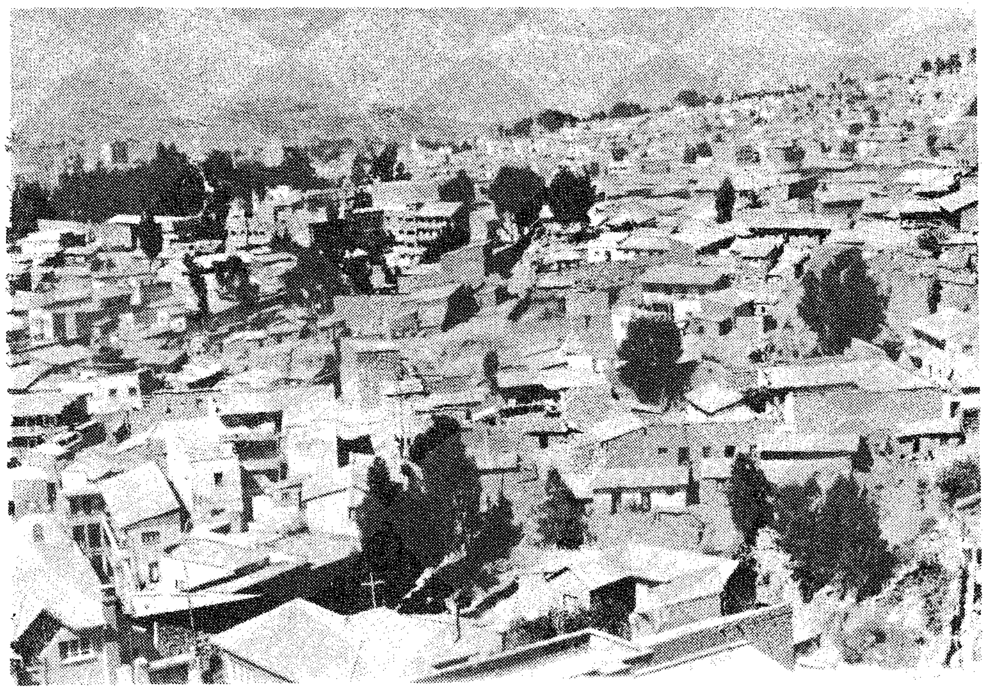
For the children's sake, to say nothing of America's sake, give it the ax. Right in the neck.

Educator John Dewey (above) is considered the founder of Progressive Education. Dr. Rafferty describes some of the harm that approach to learning has done.

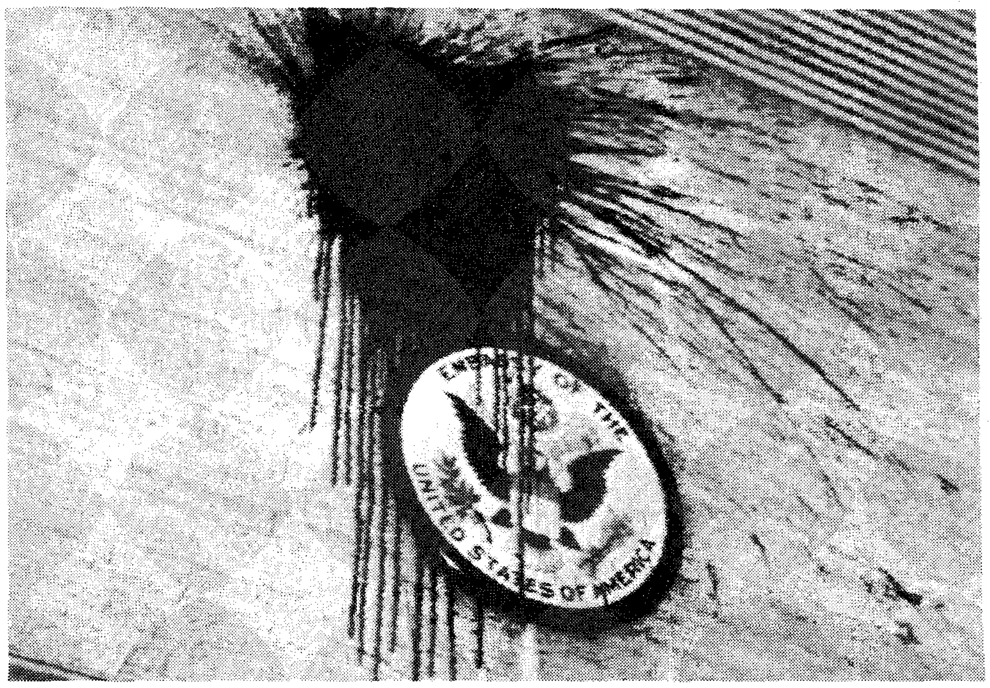

This empire existed for
Ghana was
very wealthy (gold) because
they knew how to use iron they
were able to expand their

The trend toward "black studies" is an outgrowth of the progressive education theory. A more rational learning process (especially for the disadvantaged) would concentrate upon basics in the lower and intermediate grades.

For biographical information on Dr. Rafferty, please see page 61.



La Paz, Bolivia. Many of the problems besetting U.S.-Latin relations can be solved with a more realistic approach to the political instability inherent in the area.



Here, red paint is splattered across the American Embassy front in Montevideo, Uruguay, in protest against U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam.

Latin America: Victim of Liberal U.S. Policies

There is an alternative to 'caudillos' or Communists. Has Nixon found it?

By PAUL BETHEL

The subject of Latin America was a muted trumpet during last fall's presidential campaign. But now its problems have burst upon President Nixon's new Administration with all the sound and fury of the brass section of the U.S. Marine Band.

Peru has confiscated U.S. oil holdings and Ecuador's President Jose Maria Velazco Ibarra threatens to do the same; U.S. fishing vessels are fired upon and seized; the Panama Canal is in danger of being "multilateralized" to death, with a weakening of the U.S. defense posture; military governments rule in Brazil, Panama, Peru and Argentina; and last but not least, Cuban-based, Soviet-directed subversion is forcing an awesome flight of capital from Latin America.

Suddenly, all of Washington is busy "studying" the behavior of our Latin neighbors.

While President Nixon's program is largely unknown, he has indicated his awareness of Latin America's problems and laid down guidelines on how he intends to deal with them. Of the Alliance for Progress, he said: "We're not just going to take the Alliance and put a coat of whitewash on it . . . we'll rebuild it with an entirely different thrust." That thrust, he said, lies in "trade instead of aid."

Behind this terse phrase could lie a momentous change in U.S. policy. For one thing, it would drastically reduce vast government-to-government loans. Those loans have been used, more often than not, by left-liberal regimes to increase state control over their economies, and to decrease the incentives needed to attract outside capital investments. They have also resulted in runaway social and economic revolutions over which left-liberals lost control.

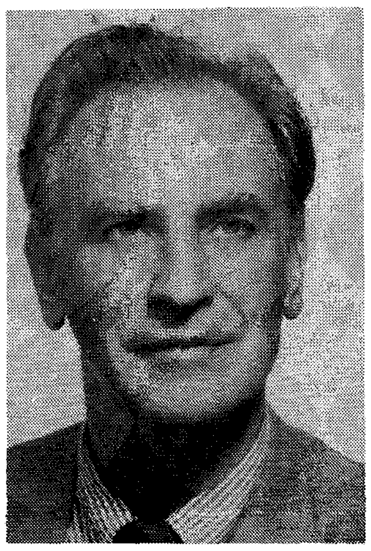
In some instances (Chile, for example), the Communists are practically dictating the policy of the ruling Christian Democrats. In others (Brazil, Argentina), the military felt obliged to kick impotent radical-leftists out of office, thus bringing to full circle President Kennedy's hopes that the Alliance could pull rightist governments back to dead center.

After a decade of the Alliance, it is demonstrably true that the policies of the New Frontier have merely led to a bi-polarization of power. What President Nixon faces now is the problem of dealing with an entrenched left as well as the traditional right.

President Nixon's White House adviser on Latin America, Viron Vaky, has admitted as much in statements made to congressional probers that were frank and refreshing. What he said was that the political dividends expected of the Alliance had failed of accomplishment. The mystique of peaceful democratic revolution which the New Frontier claimed would reform societies and solve political problems is nowhere to be found.

No matter from what angle Latin America is viewed, the picture is one of staggering social and economic problems, exacerbated by increasing Communist subversion. (The scope of that subversion became apparent last December when 70 guerrilla leaders from seven countries met in the Andes Mountains of Colombia, where they completed plans for a continent-wide onslaught against established order. Moreover, KGB agent B. Tarascov headed a three-man Soviet delegation in those talks).

About the Author



Mr. Bethel, a former U.S. Foreign Service officer, now serves as executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative **Latin America Report**. A member of the American Embassy staff in Havana when Fidel Castro seized control, Mr. Bethel has kept many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps and has personally interviewed hundreds of anti-Castro refugees. He has given important testimony before congressional committees and has written articles for **The Reporter**, United Features Syndicate and **National Review**. A contributing editor to **Human Events**, he also covered the 1965 Dominican Republic uprising for the Mutual Broadcasting System and Hearst Headline Service.

President Nixon is finding that a number of legal and extra-legal agreements undertaken by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations will not make his job any easier. Start with Cuba, considered by many to be the fulcrum of the Cold War.

Robert F. Kennedy's *Thirteen Days* officially admits that as a price for the alleged withdrawal of Soviet long-range missiles from Cuba, the Kennedy Administration virtually guaranteed the regime of Fidel Castro. By that agreement, neither Cubans in exile nor the governments of this hemisphere may lend support or encouragement to Cuba's growing anti-Castro underground.

But international lawyers challenge the sweep of that agreement. Moreover, it was made contingent on two other simultaneous actions that were never taken: 1) withdrawal of nuclear weapons under U.N. supervision, and 2) on-site inspection.

A Joint Resolution of Congress, signed on Oct. 3, 1962, states: "Resolved . . . that the United States is determined—a) To prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or threat of force, its aggressive activities to any part of this hemisphere." A Joint Resolution is widely accepted as having the force of law, while the Republican Platform of 1968 strengthens Mr. Nixon's hand further by reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine.

Perhaps aware of the inherent weakness in the Kennedy position and the strength of his own, President Nixon gave a flat warning: "Havana cannot remain forever a sanctuary for aggression and a base for the export of terror to other lands," and added: "It operates with an ambitious strategy to create widespread insurrection and wage guerrilla warfare against the nations of Central and South America."

Military writer Hanson Baldwin adds that the military threat, real though it is, is "less important than the political and psychological significance of a Communist base in the Western Hemisphere," meaning that the lodgement of Soviet power in Cuba is leading to a de-escalation in the will of Latin American politicians to resist Communist encroachment on governments and institutions in this hemisphere.

Thus, for political, practical and legal reasons, President Nixon must take some action against Communist Cuba. Indications that he will do so are apparent. Speaking of the policies of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations toward Fidel Castro, he said: "Efforts to boycott his regime have met with minimal success. New leadership in the United States is committed to do better." What remains is to fit deeds to words.

The Panama Canal remains a vexing problem for President Nixon. It is all the more vexing because previous Administrations have given Panama reason to believe that a cluster of new draft treaties will be implemented.

The first would surrender exclusive American control within the Canal Zone, and joint control with Panama would be substituted.

Another, and more dangerous, provision would prevent the United States from acting to defend the "big ditch" unless Panama agreed in advance. Considering the political instability of the country (only recently taken over by military coup), the total U.S. investment for defense (over $3 billion) would remain immobile at the whim of whatever government happened to be in power.

A third provision under consideration would make it possible to construct another canal—possibly sea-level—in Panama.

Perhaps for these reasons, Mr. Nixon has said: "I believe that a policy can be worked out where the government of Panama can have a say in running the canal," then hedged this statement by adding, "consistent with the security interests of the United States." He has reserved judgment on how he expects to square the one with the other, but has left himself adequate room for diplomatic maneuvers.

One thing to keep in mind is that Panamanian politicians do not really want to lose their most lucrative asset. And, in the somewhat surrealistic realm of Latin politics, what a politician says in demagogic language intended for the

(*Continued on following page*)

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masses is not what he really means—unless, of course, he can get away with it. Moreover, the treaty talks took place before the Oct. 11, 1968, military coup. Since then, the junta has made no mention of changing the present status of the canal.

By seizing the diplomatic initiative, it is at least possible for the United States to persuade strongman Col. Omar Torrijos to accept an increase in Panama's share of the tolls, and the construction of a new canal (with a tremendous increase in employment). In return, Torrijos would be expected to waive those provisions in the treaty drafts which are the most damaging to the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

The fact that Torrijos has implemented a six-point program to clean up Panama's politics, to culminate in free elections the first half of 1970, makes possible a continuation of U.S. aid programs and a diplomatic stance of "understanding." And this, too, is sorely needed by Torrijos.

Perhaps the most difficult problem of all facing President Nixon and Charles A. Meyer, the newly appointed assistant secretary for Inter-American Affairs, involves putting a curb on Soviet and Soviet-bloc penetration.

Latin American nations have been rushing to open diplomatic and barter trade relations with Communist countries. And they have been encouraged to do so by U.S. AID officials, diplomats and Department of Agriculture representatives.

Felipe Herrera, president of the Inter-American Development Bank, told a gathering of government representatives: "You [Latins] should increase your commerce with Socialist countries . . . to bring about structural changes in the regional economy." But those "structural changes" do not strengthen the Latin American economy, they undermine it. Take Colombia, for example.

Colombia's President Carlos Lleras Restrepo has negotiated agreements to barter Colombia's "surplus" coffee to the Soviet Union in return for machinery and other goods. However, Colombia's coffee does not reach the Soviet consumer. It is re-sold and makes its way back on the international market, but at a lower price.

Other coffee-producing countries are then forced to reduce their quota prices to compete with coffee bartered by Colombia, and the whole of the Latin economy suffers. This, of course, is true of other bartered items—cacao, for example.

Moreover, Soviet machinery is generally so bad as to nullify whatever gains Latin countries may expect from barter arrangements. For example, only six months following the delivery of 100 Russian-made "Gaz" jeeps to Colombia, only 20 were still in service.

Lake Titicaca, between Peru and Bolivia, has served as a crossing point for transportation of Communist arms to guerrillas in both countries via fishing boats and other small craft.

The point is that Communist barter deals reduce trade between Latin America and other nations of the free world. Foreign capital investments decline or stop altogether. Pleading a shortage of dollar exchange with which to pay for imports from the free world, Colombia reduced its imports from the United States by a whopping 40 per cent.

Unless this trend, visible elsewhere, is reversed, Latin America's traditional shortage of capital will become even shorter, and the Alliance for Progress will be put in the position of a man running up a down escalator. This is one aspect of the rise in barter deals with Communist nations.

Another is this: The Communist trade mission and the technician are actually running interference for the political agitator and the secret agent. The Soviet Union is not interested in trade for trade's sake, but in using trade for political purposes.

The August 6 edition of Bogota's *El Tiempo* addressed this point in a headline "Soviet Bloc Will Give Support," and the following story: "Commercial delegates of the Socialist countries to the 7th International Trade Fair said that they are willing to extend economic collaboration to the plans for Andean integration, always provided [the Andean nations] are politically neutral." Thus, commercial relations are intended to wreck the solidarity of the Organization of American States.

Contrary to what the Hon. Armistead I. Selden maintains in his otherwise excellent House study of Communist movements in Latin America, there is no change in Communist tactics or a split between Fidel Castro and his Soviet masters.

Simply stated, guerrilla warfare was never designed to conquer Latin governments and take power. The task, as the Havana-based Latin American Solidarity Organization slogan makes clear, is this: "The duty of the revolutionary is to make revolution," to create political and economic instability and to soften up the nations of this hemisphere for the second thrust—that of political subversion and economic penetration through Soviet and Soviet-bloc embassies and trade missions.

Yet, the new Christian Democratic administration of Venezuela's President Rafael Caldera intends to open trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and nations of the Soviet bloc. Peru has already done so. If either of these countries makes deals to barter its "surplus" oil to the Soviets, the ultimate absurdity of our encouraging trade with the Soviet bloc of nations will have been brought home to us.

Panamanian students burn a U.S. flag in demonstrations against American control of the Canal Zone. Panamanians have been led by liberals to believe drastic changes would occur in the control of the Zone.

In Uruguay, on the verge of bankruptcy and beset with problems brought on by a disastrously overextended welfare state, the Soviets have found one of this hemisphere's weakest points. Their oversized embassy in Montevideo has long been the center of a clandestine network extending throughout Latin America. Soviet agents have been involved in crippling strikes, student unrest and work hand-in-glove with the Castroite Tupamaro urban-rural guerrilla movement.

Yet, pushed from the left and under very palpable Soviet intimidation, Uruguay continues to ink trade pacts with Communist nations.

The Soviet Embassy in Mexico City has a huge commercial section, despite the fact that it handles only about $78,000 in trade annually. This compares to a U.S. trade which comes to $1.6 billion annually. It is obvious that many of the 100-man Soviet Embassy staff in Mexico are KGB agents.

Proof that this, indeed, is so came last May, less than five months after Colombia restored diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Two Castroite couriers were apprehended in Bogota carrying $101,000 and plans for fomenting urban guerrilla warfare in Colombian cities. The money and plans were handed over to them in Mexico City by a Soviet diplomat.

The total amount of money given to the courier, Feliciano Pachon Choconta, was $150,000. He gave $49,000 to a Bolivian, Rhea Clavijo, who purchased arms with it and handed them over to a member of the Soviet-controlled Communist Party of Colombia, identified in the Aug. 29, 1968, issue of *El Tiempo* as Juan de Dios Aguilera.

Five members of Dios Aguilera's guerrilla group had been trained in Cuba, and one was a Cuban military officer. Another guerrilla leader apprehended, named Bernardo Ferreria, had been trained at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow and also in Tirana, Albania.

The Soviet Union has backed up its investment in Cuba and Latin America through adroit maneuvering in the United Nations. It has striven constantly to divert OAS complaints against Cuban-Russian subversion to the Security Council, where the Soviet veto could block any punitive measures. At the same time, it has succeeded in heading off in the world body any definition of aggression that would include "wars of national liberation."

It is clear that President Nixon's apparent determination to rely on trade to pump foreign investments into Latin America can have vast political consequences. Indeed, it may be the only way to salvage a situation which has deteriorated alarmingly over the past eight years.

When Latin America's political parties become convinced that the United States is committed to meaningful and measurable progress through the application of sane economic policies, they will move away from their present leftward trend. Many took that road in the first place when it became apparent that the New Frontier wanted them to do so.

What Peruvian doesn't know that the presidential campaign for the radical APRA leader, Raul Haya de la Torre, was virtually run from the U.S. Embassy in Lima? And Chileans well remember how State Department and White House officials intervened in Chile's internal affairs by endorsing, in advance, the candidacy of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei.

Evidence that Latin America may be ready for a return to sanity is to be seen in Chile. Headed by former President Jorge Alessandri, the National party, Chile's liberal-conservative amalgam, made an astonishing comeback in congressional elections. Frei won election in 1964 with 54 per cent of the vote, when the alternative to his candidacy was communism.

Since then, his government has inched so close to the Communist line—through government planning, nationalization of industries, confiscation of properties and the like—that the electorate apparently feels that there is little practical difference between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. In any event, in the March 1 elections this year, the Christian Democrats slipped from 54 per cent to 30 per cent, while the National party jumped from about 9 per cent to 21 per cent.

To the extent that a radical administration in Washington (the New Frontier) was permitted to radicalize governments supported by the Alliance for Progress, then to that extent a conservative administration in Washington now has the opportunity to substitute a practical approach for the unrealized dreams of nearly a decade ago.

The past eight years teach us the folly of believing that Castro's export of guerrilla wars is prejudicial to "peaceful" Soviet policies in Latin America, that abrupt and radical change to the left is "inevitable" or even (Chile) popular, or that Cuba can remain forever as an unchallenged Soviet bridgehead from which governments and peoples of this hemisphere are attacked and intimidated.

What all of this means is that there is an alternative between *caudillos* and Communists, and President Nixon seems to have found it.

How to Kick the Farm Subsidy Habit

After 36 years of government programs, it's time for a change

By CHARLES B. SHUMAN

In 1933 Congress enacted the first in a long series of New Deal, Fair Deal and Great Society farm programs. Each had as its purpose higher price and improved net income for farmers.

Today, after trying every conceivable scheme to control production and manipulate prices, agriculture is in a sorry mess.

The parity ratio, a measuring stick that tells how farmers are doing, has dropped to 72 per cent, which is the lowest point since 1934 in the depths of the Depression.

During these 36 years Congress has poured many billions of dollars into a succession of schemes and in recent years we have run through a succession of secretaries of agriculture from Brannan to Benson and Freeman. Last year (1968), despite the frantic efforts of the Johnson-Freeman bureaucracy to cut back on crop production, farmers harvested the second largest crop in history, produced at the highest cost on record and sold it at the lowest prices in a decade.

Not only have government farm programs failed to improve farm income, they have actually been used by the planners and politicians to hold farm prices low in an attempt to placate consumers who were irritated by inflationary increases in the cost of living. However, consumers have not benefited from this attempted cheap food policy since retail food prices have continued on their upward spiral.

In a determined effort to preserve their Socialistic supply management schemes the Johnson Administration planners pushed through Congress huge appropriations to make direct subsidy payments to wheat, feed grain and cotton producers. These payments account for more than 20 per cent of net farm income and are an overt attempt to destroy the market price system in agriculture.

The scandalous size of these payments to certain big operators has been well publicized. Meanwhile the small family farm operator has benefited little and is being relentlessly squeezed out of the family business. Over two million farm people were pushed out during the eight years while Secretary Freeman was "making farm programs work."

With this sorry state of affairs, why do farmers continue to "sign up" in these surplus-producing, price-wrecking programs that keep 60 to 70,000 paper-shuffling controllers on the public payroll? Farmers are hooked on payments!

The Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), the USDA's huge surplus storage and market-manipulating agency, owns tremendous stocks of cotton, wheat and corn which it feeds into the market and thus the price is held down to the low support level to "encourage" greater participation in the program. The farmer is caught in a desperate cost-price squeeze as inflation boosts the price tags on necessary production supplies while the CCC holds market prices below the cost of production in many cases.

Caught in this bind, many farmers have just two alternatives – bankruptcy or line up for the government subsidy hand out. Many of the agri-businesses which serve farmers—bankers, farm machinery dealers and farm suppliers of all kinds—help keep farmers hooked on payments by making the extension of operating credit contingent upon "sign up" in the program.

City people, too, have contributed to keeping the government control and subsidy schemes fastened around the farmer's neck.

Urban taxpayers and their representatives in Congress have tolerated the huge drain of tax funds into farm programs with the mistaken idea that they were helping farmers. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and its one-year extension passed last year were made possible by the votes of city congressmen—a majority of farm state members voted against this act.

Practically every test of farmer sentiment indicates that the great majority favor ending government controls, price supports and subsidies as rapidly as possible but in such a manner as to minimize the financial shock. There is good reason to believe that with reasonable transitional protection, government farm programs could be terminated fairly swiftly with market gains rather than losses accruing to farmers.

American agriculture has been rapidly converted to a subsidy-oriented business by the Great Society planners and politicians. Most farmers want their industry to be profit-oriented and they look hopefully to the new Administration for the change in direction promised by President Nixon during the campaign.

About the Author

Charles Shuman, an Illinois stock and grain farmer, was graduated with honors in 1928 from the University of Illinois, College of Agriculture. A year later, Mr. Shuman received his master's degree in Agronomy. Active in the American Farm Bureau Federation since college, Mr. Shuman was elected president of the national organization in 1954 and has been re-elected at two-year intervals ever since. In May 1963 he successfully led the campaign for a "no" vote on the wheat quota referendum. A trustee of the Freedoms Foundation, Mr. Shuman is the author of numerous articles on agricultural policy.

Farm Bureau has stood almost alone in its long campaign to return agriculture to the competitive market system. The argument is often made that farmers cannot operate in the free market when others are subsidized. This is nonsense. Subsidies do not strengthen; they weaken. Competition is the way to grow strong; and competition is the way to greater farm profits.

The temporary advantage of a subsidy is rapidly lost as the subsidized producers sink into the ruts of complacency, inefficiency and obsolescence. Cotton farmers have lost approximately one-third of their market to synthetics largely because government price-fixing programs have priced cotton out of the competitive market. The wonder crop, soybeans, is being priced out of the foreign market because of an unrealistically high price support. Yes, it is time for a change; time to clear the decks for competition.

Farm Bureau is an independent, nongovernmental, voluntary organization with 1,796,000 family members living in 2,775 agricultural counties in 49 states and Puerto Rico. After an extensive policy development process, involving the members, the voting delegates in the recent annual convention adopted guidelines for bringing the costly and unsuccessful government control and subsidy programs to an end.

"It is our desire to move in the direction of eliminating all government regulations relating to the right to produce agricultural commodities. In some cases, however, allotments and quotas will have to be maintained for a transitional period."

"We favor legislative action on future farm program policy in 1969. Further delay in coming to a decision on this issue would only make the problem of adjustment more difficult."

"The problems of agriculture in the United States can be divided generally into two categories: first, the problems of commercial farmers and second, the problems of other farmers. For too long we have attempted to apply the same remedy to the ills of both categories."

There is need for legislation to provide agricultural adjustment and training assistance for low-income farm families. This program might include a combination of grants and loans which would be made available to low-income farm families to assist them in learning new skills, establishing small business enterprises and becoming more productive either in agriculture or some other activity. This special assistance program should be substituted for the present payment program for all low-income farm families. It will probably cost little or no more than is presently being spent and will be of much greater benefit as it will help these families improve their capacity to earn a better income.

Government programs for farm families who are in the farming business as their principal source of income should be aimed at improving the opportunity for them to earn a satisfactory income in the market place rather than in making their production decisions or in doling out payments in lieu of fair prices.

However, since the control programs are largely responsible for the present distortions in farm production patterns and current low farm prices, it is reasonable for farmers to expect the government to provide transitional assistance and a reasonable assurance against losses in the adjustment period. This transitional assistance could take the form of substantial land retirement programs, loans to facilitate orderly marketing and protection against the dumping of government-held stocks on the market to depress prices.

Another important program to raise farm income would be legislation to assure the expansion of export sales of agricultural products. Approximately 25 per cent of total U.S. farm production has normally moved to foreign customers. However, recently exports of farm products have been declining and this drop in sales is one of the important contributing causes to the sharp downtrend in farm prices of the past two years.

U.S. agriculture will decline and decay if it is forced to shrink production to the needs of the domestic market. There is no need for farmers to accept this fate. We have the most highly diversified and the most efficient agricultural production in the world. Farmers and ranchers can and must compete in world markets. It is entirely feasible to double agricultural export sales in the next four to five years.

It is time for a change. Time to rid the United States of welfare state policies and philosophies. Time to return government to its proper role of providing a healthy economic climate for private enterprise rather than attempting to guarantee security from the cradle to the grave. Time to recognize the failure of the wild-spending "new economics" theories and to reestablish government fiscal responsibility by balancing the budget. Time to abandon government policies that force farm families to depend upon welfare-type subsidy payments for their income. Time to reestablish a free market agriculture with income based on profits.

The Failure of Our Foreign Aid Program

Congress should impose a spending moratorium while reappraisal is made

By KEN THOMPSON

America's foreign aid program is almost—but not quite—as old as *Human Events* and will soon be celebrating its own 25th anniversary. For nearly a quarter of a century, the program has been giving away money at the incredible rate of about $10,000 per minute, day and night, 365 days a year.

Initiated under the Truman Doctrine, foreign aid was officially launched in 1946 as the Marshall Plan. That was to have been a "temporary" relief effort to prime the economic pumps of a handful of war-torn countries in Europe.

But like most "temporary" programs, the great give-away has become a permanent fixture.

Reorganized at least a half-a-dozen times, and operating under as many different names—the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Mutual Security Agency, the Foreign Operations Administration, the International Cooperation Administration and the Agency for International Development (AID—its current label)—the foreign aid program is now dispensing funds to some 100 countries around the globe.

It isn't easy to pin down an exact figure for the total cost of the program since its inception. Congress has appropriated—net—some $120 billion directly to the official program. But to that should be added the untold billions which have been sent abroad via the "Food for Peace" program, the Export-Import Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and other international agencies financed chiefly by the American taxpayer.

Moreover, since much of this money has been borrowed, the interest charges—as high as $50 billion, according to some estimates—should be added to the cost.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that although annual congressional appropriations to finance the official program have become somewhat smaller in recent years—creating the illusion that foreign aid has been tapering off—spending through those other agencies and programs has increased sharply. Today, in fact, we're actually spending more foreign aid money through the back door than through the official program. Instead of tapering off, the give-away is considerably larger now than it has been in the past.

With the possible exception of the "War on Poverty," perhaps no federal program has been so thoroughly riddled with corruption and waste. In the name of humanitarianism, foreign aid bureaucrats have purchased yachts and air-conditioned limousines for sheiks and ruling monarchs. Millions of dollars have been spent on highways in the jungle which begin and end nowhere. Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of products and commodities have simply "disappeared."

Greedy, ungrateful nations have taxed us for the privilege of giving them money and goods. Some have accepted our loans, tax-free, and turned right around to lend the money at high interest rates to their own people—and even to other nations. Dozens—perhaps hundreds—of corrupt foreign officials have literally become millionaires overnight, thanks to the American taxpayer's generosity.

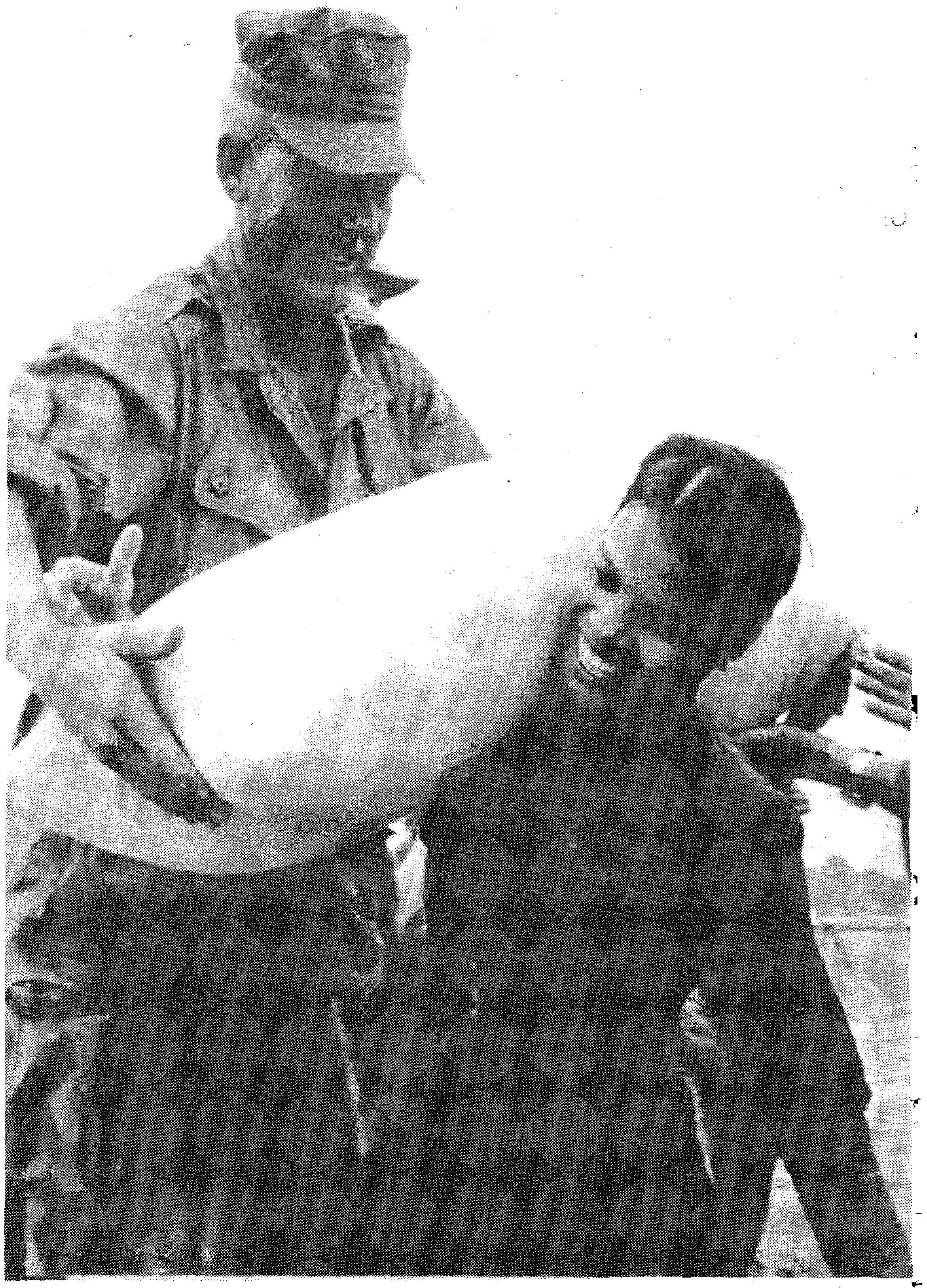
Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) has been a longtime critic of the foreign aid program.

A complete accounting of foreign aid bungling and boondoggling over the past quarter of a century would be almost impossible—and virtually endless. And yet, even if the give-away had been administered with total honesty and absolute efficiency, it is by no means certain that it would have served the interests of this country—or the interests of the 100-odd nations which have been on the receiving end of the foreign aid pipeline.

As far as this country is concerned, it certainly can be said that the money we've shipped abroad—an amount approximately equal to the total assessed value of all property, including land, in our 50 largest cities—might have been spent more wisely right here at home. How many schools, highways, hospitals or homes could have been built with these foreign aid billions?

About the Author

A native of California, Mr. Thompson is now an associate editor of the Richmond **Times-Dispatch**. After graduating from Harvard College in 1957, he served for several years with the U.S. Army in the Public Information field. Mr. Thompson then joined the staff of the **Army Times** as a Pentagon correspondent. He later became assistant editor of **Human Events**, leaving to accept a position as editorial writer for the Dallas **Morning News**.



Foreign aid to the tune of $118 billion has left America's shores since World War II; critics raise the question whether that large sum has actually benefited the United States.

We have given away enough money since the Marshall Plan was launched to run the federal government for almost an entire year, or to pay the "surtax" for nearly two decades, or to pay off roughly half of our national debt.

Since that debt happens to be considerably larger than the total indebtedness of every nation on the face of the earth, it might be asked whether we are really so rich that we could afford to be as generous and extravagant as we have been toward other nations in the past, and as foreign aid advocates suggest we should be in the future.

Of all government spending orgies, foreign aid is perhaps the most damaging to our economy.

Since the great give-away began, the United States has suffered a cumulative deficit in its balance-of-payments account of almost $40 billion. In the same time span, America's gold supply has been cut in half, and foreign nations have run up more than $30 billion in short-term claims against the dollar.

There can be no question concerning the direct cause-and-effect relationship between foreign aid and our present monetary difficulties, for those nations which have received the largest amount of aid from this country have purchased more than $10-billion worth of our gold. And though we've bailed them out in the past, helping them to become rich and powerful, they show no inclination to come to the aid of Uncle Sam now that he's in trouble.

How much longer can we continue to dissipate our wealth abroad without breaking the backbone of our own economy? Can we remain strong and competitive if we continue to tolerate rampant inflation, deficit spending, balance-of-payments losses and the gold drain, all of which have been severely aggravated by the foreign aid give-away?

The enormous cost of the program, and the damage it has done to our economy, might have been justified, however, if the objectives of the give-away had been accomplished. But even the program's staunchest supporters in the past now concede that it has fallen miserably short of its goals and purposes.

The basic objectives of foreign aid have always been to curtail the spread of communism, to foster stable governments, to stimulate economic gains and, in the process of helping the needy, to close the gap between rich and poor nations and win friends and allies for America.

Can anyone honestly say that these goals have been met? Obviously in several countries some military aid has been necessary and non-military aid has been helpful—particularly in the early years of the program. Nevertheless, it is painfully true that we have fewer friends and allies today than when the program was launched. The gap between the rich and the poor is wider than ever. Communism has not been curtailed. In fact, Communist nations have benefited directly from foreign aid to the tune of $5 billion—which is considerably more, incidentally, than they have received in assistance from the Soviet Union.

Is France a better friend, a more dependable ally after receiving more than $7 billion in American aid? Is Great Britain's economy any stronger as a result of another $7 billion? Is India any richer after $6 billion? Is Pakistan more stable after $5 billion?

Ambulances await shipment to Chile in the wake of a disastrous earthquake.

Examine the list of more than 100 countries which have been on the receiving end of the dole and ask yourself how many have made any progress toward the goals they were supposed to reach with the help of foreign aid. Most of them have moved in the opposite direction. The single obvious exception which comes to mind is Indonesia. But that country began to make progress only after we cut it off the dole, ending a billion-dollar subsidy which had propped up the Sukarno regime.

America can and should help other countries to raise their standards of living. It is clearly in our interest to do so. But it is highly doubtful that this can be accomplished with foreign aid, no matter how well it is administered or how much money is at its disposal.

Where U.S. Aid Has Gone

Total net foreign assistance to 120 nations and six territories of the world —fiscal years 1946 through 1968. Compiled by Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.).

Afghanistan	$ 334,900,000
Albania	20,400,000
Algeria	191,700,000
Argentina	409,400,000
Australia	431,500,000
Austria	1,122,900,000
Belgium-Luxembourg	1,757,200,000
Bolivia	476,200,000
Botswana	17,300,000
Brazil	2,476,400,000
Burundi	6,800,000
Burma	85,600,000
Cambodia	342,300,000
Cameroon	28,400,000
Canada	11,100,000
Central Africa Republic	4,400,000
Ceylon	109,500,000
Chad	7,400,000
Chile	1,221,600,000
China, Republic	4,873,500,000
Colombia	747,100,000
Congo (B)	2,000,000
Congo (K)	393,500,000
Costa Rica	142,300,000
Cuba	43,800,000
Cyprus	20,300,000
Czechoslovakia	189,500,000
Dahomey	10,600,000
Denmark	877,300,000
Dominican Republic	358,800,000
East Germany	800,000
Ecuador	245,500,000
El Salvador	99,400,000
Ethiopia	323,300,000
Finland	39,400,000
France	7,021,200,000
Gabon	7,000,000
Gambia	1,000,000
Ghana	204,200,000
Germany and Berlin	3,668,700,000
Greece	3,605,100,000
Guatemala	220,300,000
Guinea	72,200,000
Guyana	34,200,000
Haiti	101,500,000
Honduras	91,200,000
Hungary	14,900,000
Iceland	67,900,000
India	6,585,200,000
Indo-China	1,535,200,000
Indonesia	686,400,000
Iran	1,848,400,000
Iraq	98,800,000
Ireland	99,400,000
Israel	770,600,000
Italy	5,329,100,000
Ivory Coast	29,700,000
Jamaica	49,100,000
Japan	3,528,300,000
Jordan	622,700,000
Kenya	55,700,000
Korea	6,986,800,000
Kuwait	50,000,000
Laos	528,300,000
Lebanon	84,100,000
Lesotho	2,100,000
Liberia	213,400,000
Libya	216,600,000
Malagasy	12,500,000
Malawi	14,100,000
Malaysia	91,400,000
Mali	21,400,000
Malta	6,200,000
Mauritania	3,400,000
Mauritius	500,000
Mexico	517,900,000
Morocco	589,100,000
Nepal	114,200,000
Netherlands	2,052,700,000
New Zealand	24,400,000
Nicaragua	129,500,000
Niger	13,000,000
Nigeria	204,100,000
Norway	1,132,400,000
Pakistan	3,126,500,000
Panama	188,200,000
Paraguay	95,700,000
Peru	449,200,000
Philippines	1,761,400,000
Poland	444,100,000
Portugal	476,100,000
Rwanda	6,100,000
Saudi Arabia	217,900,000
Senegal	30,400,000
Sierra Leone	35,200,000
Somali	68,200,000
Southern Rhodesia	2,300,000
Spain	1,952,700,000
Sudan	128,600,000
Sweden	129,800,000
Swaziland	100,000
Syrian Arab Republic	62,600,000
Tanzania	55,800,000
Thailand	1,063,900,000
Togo	13,200,000
Trinidad-Tobago	51,600,000
Tunisia	531,400,000
Turkey	5,126,400,000
Uganda	27,900,000
United Arab Republic	925,400,000
United Kingdom	7,394,000,000
USSR	186,400,000
Upper Volta	9,700,000
Uruguay	112,400,000
Venezuela	318,400,000
Viet Nam	5,042,800,000
Western Samoa	200,000
Yemen	43,900,000
Yugoslavia	2,633,100,000
Zambia	16,200,000
Bahamas	23,300,000
British Honduras	4,700,000
Surinam	10,100,000
West Indies	6,400,000
Hong Kong	42,600,000
Ryukyu Islands	364,700,000
Trust Territory Pacific	147,200,000
CENTO—Pacific	53,000,000
W/W regional	12,742,100,000
W/W aid, fiscal year 1968	5,550,000,000
Total net disbursements to foreign nations, 1946-68	$118,432,000,000
Total net interest paid on what we have borrowed to give away, 1946-68	52,803,000,000
Grand total—cost of foreign assistance—1946 through 1968	$171,235,000,000

In the first place, the problem is simply too massive to be solved on a hand-out basis. Even if we were able to give away $100 billion a year—more than 10 times what we are now giving—we could raise the standard of living of people in the underdeveloped world by less than $100 per capita.

In the second place, foreign aid rests on the basic assumption that the quickest way to progress "is to take from the rich and give to the poor, to seize from Peter and give to Paul," as Henry Hazlitt has observed—an assumption, he adds, which promotes socialism and stagnation. Foreign aid money invariably goes to finance government projects, to subsidize land reform measures and other share-the-wealth schemes.

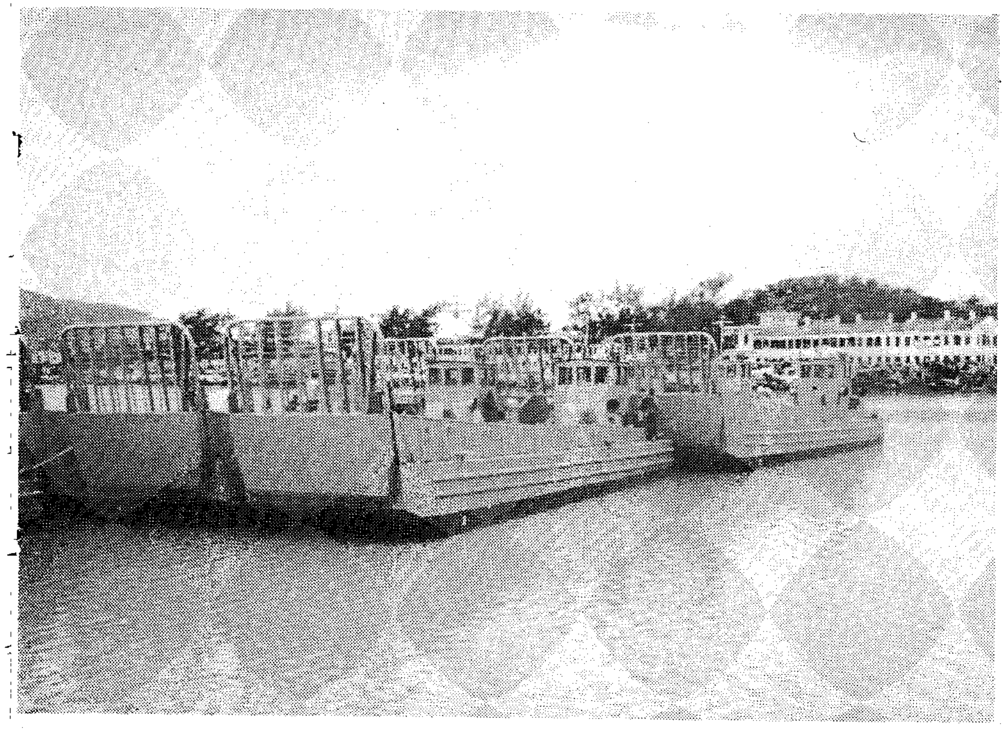
America didn't become the most productive, prosperous nation on earth by accepting hand-outs or as the result of a government-managed economy. If we really believe in private enterprise—which produced this nation's wealth—the greatest favor we could do for other nations would be to wean them away from socialism, instead of helping to underwrite it.

Our government's foreign aid efforts ought to be limited to encouraging private investment abroad—via tax write-offs for venture capital, for example, or the underwriting of loans for sound development—and persuading other nations to create and preserve the climate in which private enterprise can flourish.

Since 1958 our foreign aid bureaucrats haven't even been able to spend the money they've been given as fast as Congress has appropriated it. At last count, there was roughly $15 billion in the pipeline—enough to last for several years at the present rate of spending even if Congress refused to appropriate another cent.

That is precisely what Congress ought to do this year. Not only would that give the Nixon Administration an opportunity to test the feasibility and effectiveness of private foreign aid ventures, but it would also help to reduce the current budget by several billion dollars.

A congressional moratorium on new foreign aid appropriations would provide a breathing spell during which a program that has faltered for nearly a quarter of a century could be reappraised and reorganized. And it would also serve notice that this nation cannot really hope to help others until it has learned once again to help itself.

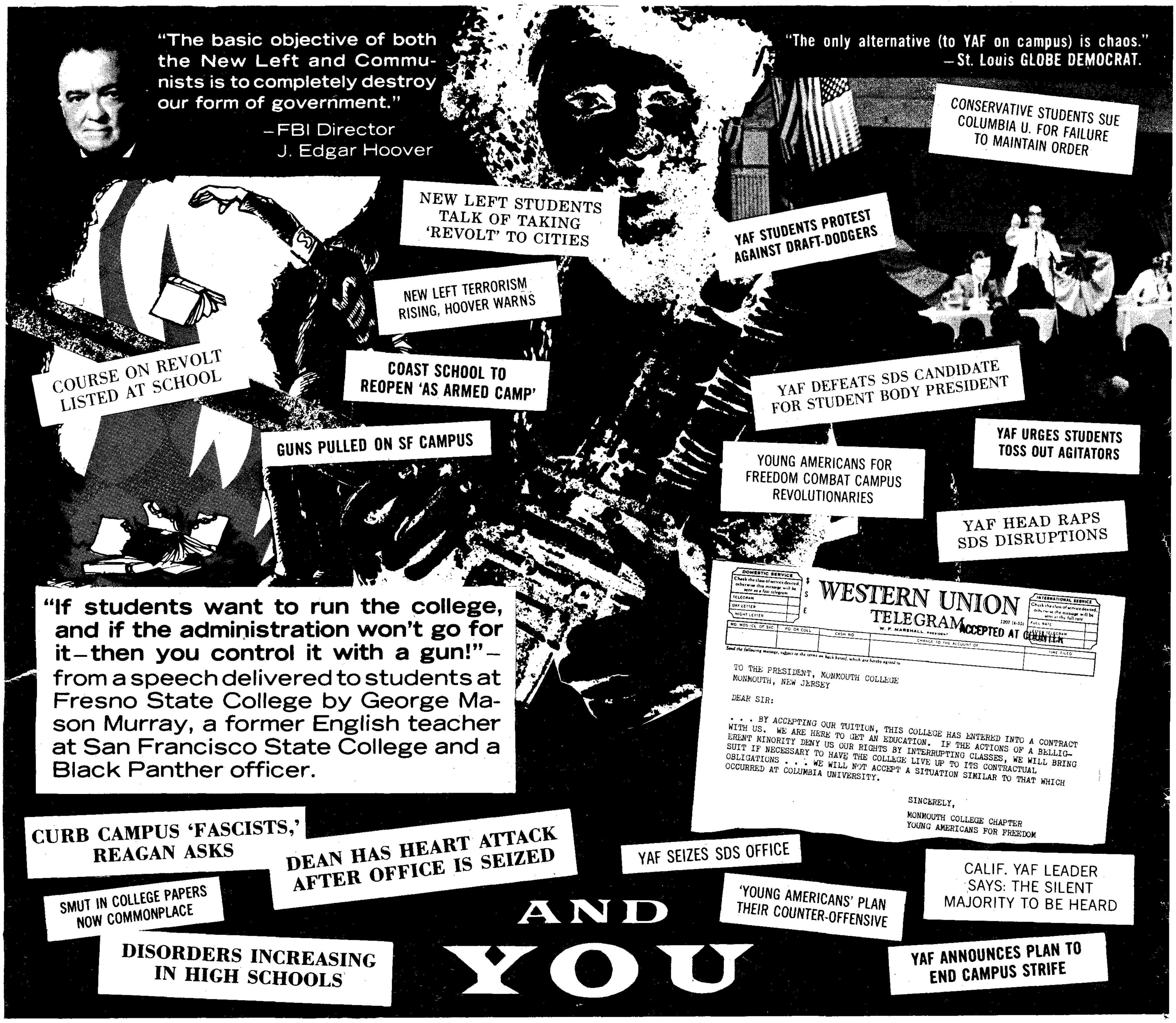


These landing craft were built for Indonesia under the foreign aid program.

To encourage private investment should be the aim of the planners.

THE STUDENT CRISIS

YAF


NEW LEFT STUDENTS TALK OF TAKING 'REVOLT' TO CITIES
CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS SUE COLUMBIA U. FOR FAILURE TO MAINTAIN ORDER
YAF STUDENTS PROTEST AGAINST DRAFT-DODGERS
NEW LEFT TERRORISM RISING, HOOVER WARNS
COURSE ON REVOLT LISTED AT SCHOOL
COAST SCHOOL TO REOPEN 'AS ARMED CAMP'
YAF DEFEATS SDS CANDIDATE FOR STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT
GUNS PULLED ON SF CAMPUS
YAF URGES STUDENTS TOSS OUT AGITATORS
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM COMBAT CAMPUS REVOLUTIONARIES
YAF HEAD RAPS SDS DISRUPTIONS
CURB CAMPUS 'FASCISTS,' REAGAN ASKS
DEAN HAS HEART ATTACK AFTER OFFICE IS SEIZED
YAF SEIZES SDS OFFICE
CALIF. YAF LEADER SAYS: THE SILENT MAJORITY TO BE HEARD
SMUT IN COLLEGE PAPERS NOW COMMONPLACE
'YOUNG AMERICANS' PLAN THEIR COUNTER-OFFENSIVE
DISORDERS INCREASING IN HIGH SCHOOLS
YAF ANNOUNCES PLAN TO END CAMPUS STRIFE
AND
YOU

"The basic objective of both the New Left and Communists is to completely destroy our form of government."
–FBI Director
J. Edgar Hoover

"The only alternative (to YAF on campus) is chaos."
–St. Louis GLOBE DEMOCRAT.

"If students want to run the college, and if the administration won't go for it–then you control it with a gun!"–from a speech delivered to students at Fresno State College by George Mason Murray, a former English teacher at San Francisco State College and a Black Panther officer.

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DEAR SIR:

. . . BY ACCEPTING OUR TUITION, THIS COLLEGE HAS ENTERED INTO A CONTRACT WITH US. WE ARE HERE TO GET AN EDUCATION. IF THE ACTIONS OF A BELLIGERENT MINORITY DENY US OUR RIGHTS BY INTERRUPTING CLASSES, WE WILL BRING SUIT IF NECESSARY TO HAVE THE COLLEGE LIVE UP TO ITS CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS . . . WE WILL NOT ACCEPT A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH OCCURRED AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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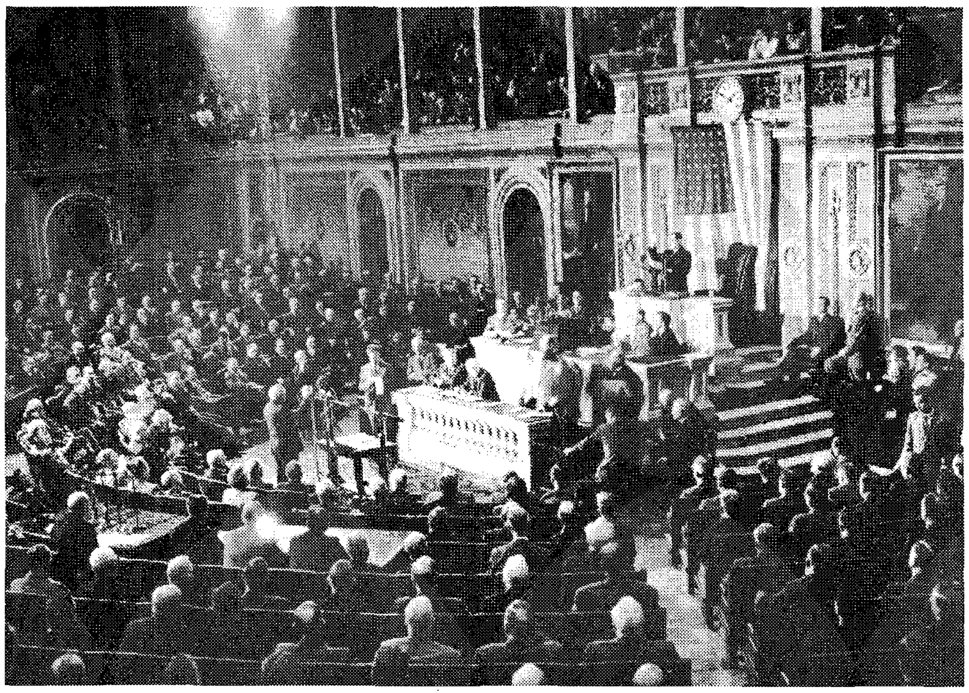
–**Ronald Reagan**
Member, YAF
National Advisory Board



The 80th Congress convenes Jan. 3, 1947, as Rep. Joseph W. Martin (R.-Mass.), at right, takes the oath of office as Speaker of the House.

DEWEY DEFEATS TRUM

But two years later, GOP control of the House and Senate was lost as President Truman swept to his upset victory over Republican Thomas E. Dewey.

The Decline of Congress

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Looking back over the past 25 years on Capitol Hill, two Congresses, the 80th (1947-48) and the 89th (1965-1966), emerge as the most striking in their mpact upon the nation.

The first was denounced by President Truman as the "no good, do-nothing" 80th Congress. Its crimes? Measures o cut taxes, lower federal spending, educe the public debt and curb the powers of organized labor.

The 89th Congress was hailed by President Johnson as "fabulous." Its egislative output was indeed staggering nd revolutionary in nature. It also cted with such haste that years will be required to repair the damage caused by inadequate consideration of defects now apparent to all.

Political irony enters here. Although he 80th Congress was superlative in its chievements, Truman's "give 'em hell" irades against it not only helped him achieve an upset victory in 1948, but ousted the Republican majorities in control of both houses. Nine GOP senators and 75 representatives lost their seats n that debacle.

Leaders in both parties were left to reflect upon this conclusion—that a majority of the voters are unimpressed by reduced spending and a decreased tax burden if convinced by demagoguery that they have been deprived of some vague and largely unspecified social welfare benefits.

The lesson was taken to heart by ucceeding Congresses. The public debt, reduced a staggering $28 billion by the "do-nothing" 80th, soared to the heights. Budget surpluses became a rarity. The power of labor bosses was permitted to expand.

By the time, 16 years later, that the 89th Congress came into being, Congress was ready for an explosive climax to a long period of deficit spending. It let down all bars in a legislative orgy that defied comparison with the achievements of any earlier Congress.

The United States saw one-man government in a form never contemplated under the checks-and-balances restraints of the Constitution. Both houses, dominated by 2-to-1 Democratic majorities, succumbed to the demands of President Johnson, exultant over his landslide victory in November 1964.

The President insisted not only on passage of his "must" measures, but on passage by sweeping majorities without amendment. Almost invariably, he got his way. Congress, as a co-equal branch of the government created to curb the monarchic tendencies of any chief executive who might be intoxicated by power, ceased to function. It became an automatic stamping machine for legislation drafted in the White House.

What was the voter reaction in the November elections of 1966 to this congressional surrender of constitutional rights? The citizenry disregarded the inflationary threat and continued destruction of dollar values caused by unrestrained federal spending and listened only to the glittering promises of a future Utopia.

As a result, when the 89th Congress yielded to the 90th, the Senate Democratic majority was left virtually untouched. The Republican minority in the House picked up 46 seats, but remained hopelessly in the rear of the Democratic majority. It was the normal off-year swing of the political pendulum, nothing more.

Neither then nor in 1968, when the spenders remained in control of Congress, despite the election of a Republican President, was there any perceptible alarm expressed by the voting majority about the threat posed by the gigantic costs of government, deficit spending and a steadily soaring national debt.

There has been much talk in recent years of the decline of Congress. The condition is evident. Less attention has been paid to the decline of the American voter who, after all, is responsible for his representation on Capitol Hill. Every member of Congress is familar with the constituent who indignantly demands economy in government and winds up his letter by asking: "When are you going to increase our Social Security payments?" Economy is for the other fellow.

It did seem as if a new spirit had swept both the American people and Congress when the 80th Congress came into being. That election of November 1946 was the most successful election for Republicans since the 1920s. They swept governorships, Senate and House contests. They picked up 13 Senate seats and 56 House seats and control of both houses.

The "moderate" Republican was a rarity in those days and the new majorities were conservative in tone. New senators that year included John W. Bricker (Ohio), William E. Jenner (Ind.), George W. Malone (Nev.), Joseph McCarthy (Wis.), John J. Williams (Del.) and William F. Knowland (Calif.). They found an illustrious leadership awaiting them: Robert A. Taft (Ohio), Styles Bridges (N.H.), Eugene D. Milliken (Colo.), Arthur H. Vandenberg (Mich.) and Ken Wherry (Neb.).

On the Democratic side of the aisle were men with identical views in many fields: Harry F. Byrd Sr. (Va.), Richard Russell (Ga.) and Pat McCarran (Nev.).

In the House Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.), then in his prime, had Charles W. Halleck (Ind.) as majority leader. Conservatives such as John Taber (N.Y.), Fred E. Hartley Jr. (N.J.), Clare E. Hoffman (Mich.) and Harold Knutson (Minn.) commanded the major committees.

The task these men faced was to shake off wartime economic controls, to guard against inflation and to face up to the realization that a hot war from 1941 to 1945 had been succeeded by a Cold War in which Russia emerged as an implacable enemy.

So the "do-nothing 80th" wrote basic laws which governed foreign and domestic policy for many years to come. When Truman was right, as he was in proposing the Greek-Turkish aid program and the European recovery plan, it backed him up. When he was wrong, as he was in sponsoring lavish spending on welfare programs, they ignored him and compounded the injury by slashing appropriations and reducing taxes, overriding his veto.

In today's era of $200-billion budgets, drenched in red ink, the spend-

(Continued on following page)

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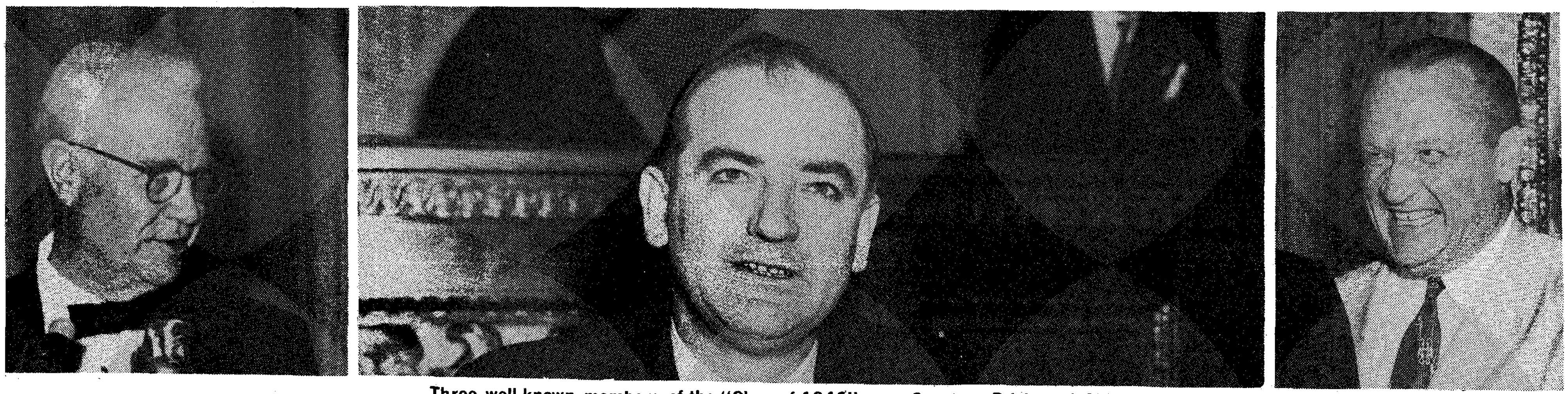
or biographical information on Mr. Edwards, lease see page 60.



Three well-known members of the "Class of 1946" were Senators Bricker of Ohio, McCarthy of Wisconsin and Knowland of California.

(*Continued from preceding page*)

ing figures of that Congress, more than two decades ago, approach incredibility.

Truman's budget was $37.5 billion. Congress cut it to $33 billion. There was an $8.4-billion surplus, permitting a $28-billion reduction in the national debt which had risen during the war years to $280 billion.

After the 80th Congress passed from the scene, the old-fashioned practice of reductions in the national debt faded into oblivion. In 12 of the 18 years from 1947 to 1964, there were deficits ranging as high as $12.4 billion. The public debt soared steadily upward until it now is more than $360 billion and the interest on it alone is one of the biggest costs of government operation.

Truman got rid of the Congress he hated—the one which aired the Alger Hiss espionage scandal, a "red herring," Truman fumed, to distract attention from its failings. The voters replaced it with the 81st Congress which brought to the Senate a Texas congressman named Lyndon B. Johnson and a Minnesota mayor named Hubert H. Humphrey. There was no more foolish talk about budget cuts.

Through the years, the spending pace was steadily accelerated until the stage was set for the "fabulous" 89th. One definition of that adjective is "absurd . . . approaching the impossible" and in this sense it was merited.

Legislation, experimental in nature and repeatedly pigeonholed by past Congresses over the years, received hasty approval. Federal influence was expanded in long-forbidden areas. The church-state issue was bypassed where religion is taught. The American system of medical care underwent a radical change after a quarter-century of controversy. Silver coins lost their silver; an immigration quota system of 40 years' standing was ended.

The laudable goals of some of these measures served as excuse for patchwork legislation. An imperious voice from the White House said "hurry, hurry, hurry" and Congress hastened to oblige. The conscientious Senate leader, Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), later confessed that subsequent Congresses would be kept busy plugging the gaps obvious to all. Three years later, the task remains to be accomplished.

Perhaps the most ignoble role of the 89th Congress was its acquiescence in White House deception about the costs of the growing war in Viet Nam. Johnson had set a $100-billion ceiling on the budget and was determined that it should not be exposed as fiction.

"A new world beckoned," in Johnson's words as he was sworn in to his first elected term in office. It was a world in which there would be no poverty, no sickness and the President, in one exuberant Rose Garden speech, even hinted that he intended to put an end to dying. Immortality hovered over all members of the "Great Society."

This vision did not materialize, but inflation did and increased taxes. Rising wages failed to keep pace with rising prices. Every spending measure passed in the 1965-1966 session contained built-in increases destined to mushroom in future years to incalculable heights.

A new Administration is now wrestling with the problems created by the expediency of that two-year session. It must deal with a Congress still dominated by the leadership responsible for them. If there is some timidity in calling for an essential retrenchment, it may be due to memories of what happened to the 80th Congress. It has never collected even a posthumous award.

What Should We D

By the REV. DANIEL LYONS, S.J.

Whoever Mainland China is allied with 10 years from now—and it will either be Washington or Moscow—will end up controlling the world. If ever there was a sleeping giant, it is China. It has 25 per cent of the earth's population and one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The potential of the Chinese people is just as great as that of the Japanese.

Communism has prevented the Chinese from developing for the last 40 years. The first 20 were years of Communist warfare to conquer the mainland. The second 20 have been Communist occupation.

I am not predicting that the rulers of China will rule the world. This will not happen in our lifetime. China has been held back too much by the Communist economic and political system for that, and she has too far to catch up before she could take over the world. For the foreseeable future she will have just enough nuclear power to get herself in trouble if she threatens the U.S. or the Soviet Union.

What I am predicting is that Mainland China can become, within 10 years of proper management, the most formidable ally in the world.

There are still those who say that the Sino-Soviet split is a myth—that it is the biggest hoax in history. But their number is diminishing in the face of facts. It can no longer be said that there is no split. Moscow and Peking are enemies, after a fashion. They are rivals for power in the Communist world. Peking has been so intransigent that she has antagonized almost every country in the world.

The United States has been doubly against her for two reasons: (1) those who despise communism despise Red China; (2) those who want to build bridges to the Soviet Union despise Peking for turning on the Kremlin.

Bitter rivals that they are, Moscow and Peking are enemies only after a fashion because both Communist camps realize that their common enemy is the free world. Both know that the United States is the only leader the free world has, the only opposition worth worrying about in their designs to carve up the world.

Despite their differences, Peking knows that it could at least take over most of Asia without the "intervention" of the U.S.A. Red China would be ruling South Korea and South Viet Nam right now, as well as India, Indonesia, Formosa and various other countries, were it not for the American presence. Japan could be subdued with a few atom bombs, even if they were as weak as those used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Thanat Khoman, the astute foreign minister in Bangkok, has made it clear that without American defenses, Thailand, and in fact all the nations of Asia, would have to come to terms with Peking. With the disarmament policy we have forced Japan to follow, it might be the first to fall.

Without American forces in Europe there would be nothing to prevent Moscow and her satellites from moving the Iron Curtain to LeHavre, then starving Great Britain into submission. As with Japan, Germany might be the first in Europe to fall, since we have made it impossible for Germany to defend itself.

Despite his failing health and the internal battles in his country, Mao Tse-tung's iron grip on China seems secure for the time being.

Dramatically pointing up the severity of Mao's regime are these bodies of Mainland Chinese that washed ashore near Hong Kong. Authorities believe the victims fell prey to the Red Guards.

Our policy regarding Japan and Germany may turn out to be suicidal, dating back to the thinking of Franklin D. Roosevelt at the close of World War II that Japan and Germany should not be allowed to build up militarily. The Roosevelt Administration even tried to launch the Morganthau Plan that would have kept Germany from rebuilding any industry.

After Roosevelt's death it was learned that the plan was unacceptable to the American people and that it was largely devised by Harry Dexter White, the assistant secretary of the treasury. White turned out to be a Soviet agent.

But Moscow and Peking have had their way: we have not allowed military forces to build up to any real degre in Germany or Japan. Only the Communist half of Germany has been allowed to build up its military strength

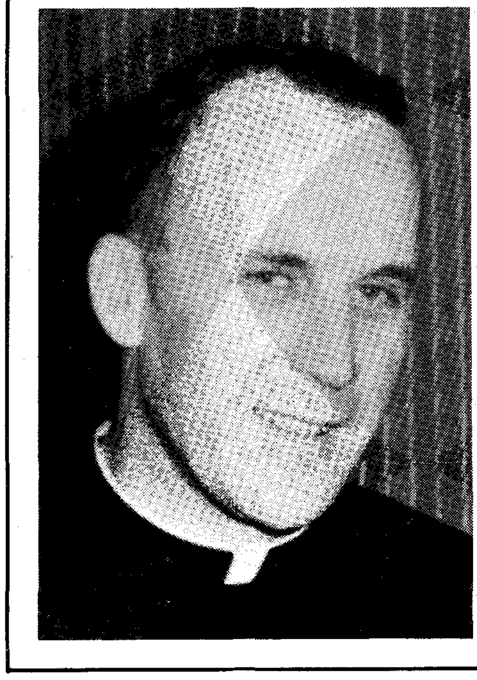
Free China has been permitted t build up forces on Taiwan, small a that island is. But the air force o Free China is never given more tha one week's supply of gasoline at time, and if ever Free China buys gasoline independently of the United States it is deducted from the next week' quota.

The fact that it is in the best interest of Peking and Moscow to work togethe against the United States is logica enough. When both of them are ab to get together and knock out the Unite States—and that time is rapidly approaching—they are very apt to do so.

The contrary notion—that the Unite States and the USSR will get togethe in a war against Red China—is a concept that is so unlikely it is grotesque. It could only happen if the Soviet Union were invaded by China, and Moscow could talk Washington into bailing i out. But in our lifetime China will be in no position to challenge Russia.

Moscow would never come to o defense. She is the only enemy wi the power to destroy us overnight. The fact that she has not yet done so ca only be attributed to our relative position of strength. Like all tyrants, she respects strength and despises weakness.

But to think that Moscow is secretly on our side is a figment of the imagina-



About the Author

A Jesuit since 1938, Father Lyons was for many years on the staff of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash. He is now editor of **Twin Circle—The National Catholic Press** and also serves as chairman of the Free Pacific Association and the Asian Speakers Bureau. A member of the Strategy Staff of the American Security Council, Father Lyons has made many fact-finding trips abroad. He contributes regularly to the Houston **Tribune** and the **Chen Hsin Daily News** in Taiwan and maintains a heavy speaking and debate schedule, including a daily radio show, "Twin Circle Forum," and a weekly television program, "Twin Circle Headline." In 1966 Father Lyons was decorated by the Republic of China for his efforts on behalf of the free world.

With Red China?

tion that is so weird it is politically obscene. Yet that is precisely how many of our diplomats think. Our President and State Department have repeatedly sent high-ranking diplomats to Moscow over the past few years to help us keep South Viet Nam out of the hands of the Communists, a concept so intellectually degrading it deserves no comment.

The role of Red China can only be discussed in relation to Moscow. China reneged on its allegiance to the leaders in the Kremlin, at least temporarily, but it has never deviated from its goal of communizing the world. That is what Peking and Moscow have in common.

Both would be content, for awhile, if Peking could take over Asia while Moscow conquered Western Europe. China would take India while Moscow took over Latin America and what might be left of North America after a nuclear attack. Apart from mopping up some islands from Ireland to Australia, only Africa would remain to be carved up. These operations would take quite awhile, but the Communists are patient.

This is their goal, and only America is preventing it. How long will they let us sit around?

It is my personal conviction that if we had tried to carry on with the McNamara policies for another four years, our country would have been destroyed in a nuclear attack. It would have been just a matter of several years or so.

Letting Moscow get ahead in nuclear power and giving her assurance of the right to strike first would have been as irresistible to Brezhnev and Kosygin as tempting two alcoholics to take a drink. The leaders in the Kremlin know that if they knock out the United States, the whole world will be Communist.

Decry the "arms race" all you want, but what is the alternative? No nation has the right to build an arsenal for purposes of aggression. But what alternative has the United States to keeping ahead of the Soviet Union, as long as it threatens to knock us out or take us over? To disarm unilaterally would be to invite destruction, and to fall behind Moscow in nuclear capability is relative disarmament.

Ours is the most awesome responsibility ever faced by any nation. On our shoulders the freedom of all free nations rests. If we must surrender the first-strike right, it behooves us all the more to get well ahead and stay there. Those who say that to build an ABM would merely cause the USSR to build more offensive power are saying, in effect, that we must stay behind. Until five years ago we always had unquestioned superiority. Because of that we have had nuclear peace since 1945.

Only the United States can win an arms race. Only we have the economic strength and industrial capacity. Call it a balance of terror, call it anything you want. But the only alternative is to throw ourselves on the "mercy" of the Kremlin.

The Communists are radicals and revolutionaries when they are on the outside looking in. But once they get in power they are reactionary and reluctant to take risks. Whether or not they will ever risk a nuclear war is doubtful. If they do we will never live to see it. They will probably never do so as long as we have sufficient retaliatory strength to injure them seriously with what would be left of our striking power after they had launched a sneak attack.

What Moscow will surely do, however, is try to win over the next government of Red China to its side.

The successor to Mao will desperately need funds and technical help running into many billions of dollars. Russia will give it to him in exchange for some allegiance. If he is a Communist it will only be common sense for him to work with the USSR against the U.S.A. Such a combination would be unbeatable.

The only hope we have is to see that the next government on Mainland China belongs to the free world. The best security we could have is a Free China sitting on the mainland, 800 million strong, armed with American equipment and telling Moscow that if it dares start trouble with Europe or America, China will invade. This is the goal we must have.

보시오!
LOOK!
경계를 소홀히 하는자는 용서 할수 없다.
Those who are neglecting security will be punished.

A South Korean soldier stands guard at the border with North Korea. It has been partially the power of Red China which has kept puppet Communist states like North Korea and North Viet Nam in business.

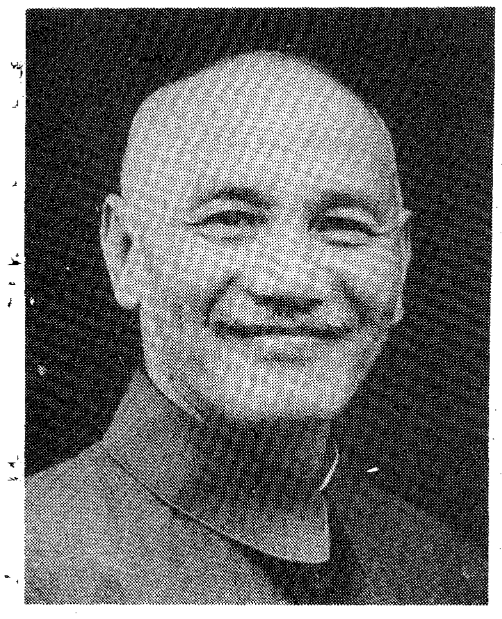
The liberal mind, of course, would not agree. He is convinced that communism in China, as elsewhere, is going to help the common man, somehow. His "solution," which is both reckless and inhuman, is to let communism reign and "it will change." That has been the liberal policy toward the Soviet Union for over 50 years. The liberal will never deviate from that policy in regard to China.

The Nixon Administration has been advised to stay just one inch to the right of Humphrey-Johnson. That way it can claim the maximum political support.

But that is no way to solve our problems. To end the Viet Nam war with a just and lasting peace, to adopt a policy of liberating Communist China over the next five years, is going to take a strong offensive. We will have to practice coexistence the way the Commies do: keep what we have and "liberate" whatever else we can.

The Communists have always been terrified they might lose some of their illegally occupied territory. They are afraid that breaches in the Curtain might cause communism to end. Free China is the only government really functioning in exile. It broadcasts all day to millions of people on the mainland. We should watch carefully for the time when we can help stir up a revolution, establish a beachhead, or win over future leaders in Peking.

The majority of the Chinese people, 25 per cent of the earth's population, were our friends just 20 years ago. They still are, if we but let them. The Communists have succeeded primarily because they have had a strategy all along and we have not. We need one badly.



Chiang Kai-Shek's lonely vigil on Formosa could well come to an end if the Western powers give him greater support.

Our Pragmatic Press

Americans rightly feel they don't get all the facts

By DONALD I. ROGERS

One of the most perceptive and informative columnists to be found in the New York City press these days is Jimmy Jemail, the inquiring photographer of the New York *Daily News.* There are some who credit this to the fact that he is a Brown man, a tireless worker, a Gentleman-of-the-Old-School and one of the nicest guys in the business.

A majority of his fans, however, believe that he is able to present an accurate view of cosmopolitan thinking in microcosm by asking a devastatingly simple question of a half-dozen people and taking down their answers verbatim. He doesn't interpret; he doesn't consult; he doesn't analyze. He merely reports what people have to say.

What he offers the public is no Gallup Poll, but the answers to his questions provide an uncanny insight to rank-and-file thinking in what was once the biggest city in America, but is now the congested center of the Eastern Seaboard's supercity, Megalopolis. What New Yorkers are thinking is what they're thinking in Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton, Newark, Bridgeport, New Haven, Hartford, Providence, Boston, Worcester and Portland.

It may not be what they're thinking in the far-out suburbs of those cities, any more than in, say Fairfield County, Conn., where New York's rich abide, or Suffolk County, L.I., where New York's semi-retired, semi-connected, semi-commuting executives and ex-executives spend their time.

With general consistency, however, what the rank-and-file citizen of Megalopolis is thinking is what the majority of responses indicate in Jimmy Jemail's column.

With equally general consistency the Eastern press, on most issues, takes an almost opposite point of view. This is not true of Jimmy Jemail's own paper, the *News*, which is conservative, right-wing Republican, pragmatic to the point of stoicism, and usually at odds, editorially, with the majority of the other papers in Megalopolis.

The word "conservative" here may be equated with what used to be known as horse sense.

If, for instance, during the imprisonment of the *Pueblo* crew, a man on the street expressed the opinion that the United States ought to disperse a part of the fleet around Korea and then demand immediate release of the prisoners, he was chalked up as a reactionary and a conservative, never as a concerned, frustrated patriot.

With his random questioning of citizens on the streets of New York City, not all of them residents of the area, Jimmy Jemail must come up with some form of consensus, some general line of what the people are thinking and what they want.

Thus, on the surface, and judged by this measure, it would appear that the general daily press is out of touch with its readers, or that a sizable proportion of the readership is not in agreement with the press.

This is neither alarming nor uncommon. Traditionally the American press has been in the forefront of progressive thinking and, from this lonely position, has sought to guide the reading public into similar avenues of thought. Only a tiny percentage of his readers actually heeded Horace Greeley's advice to "Go West."

There is reason to believe that in other periods of the nation's history the press, in most cases, did far more research and garnered much more documentation before coming to a conclusion editorially and exhorting its readers to support its view.

An outstanding example, of course, of the lack of adequate documentation,

(*Continued on following page*)

For biographical information on Mr. Rogers, please see page 62.

was the mess in Chicago at the time of the Democratic convention. Even now, these many months later, the average American is unsure what actually took place there, who was really to blame, and whether there was an organized plot to disrupt the nation at its most serious assignment, that of selecting a major party's candidate.

Yet, significantly, while a majority of the readers were trying to make up their minds about these facts and factors, many leading newspapers assumed hard-and-fast positions in fixing the blame, mostly on the Establishment, personified by Mayor Daley and augmented by the supposedly blood-lusting, Nazi-like Chicago police.

When veterans of the newspaper business get together, like the oldest living grads during Alumni Week who bemoan what's happening to the Old School, they commonly fix the blame on the fact that reporters aren't digging for the truth the way they used to. They're not asking the questions. They're not challenging. They seem to be more trusting, if not gullible or even naive.

Frequently even the most basic elements of news are missing from the stories on which editorial judgments are based.

Here are a few examples:

- A small army of welfare recipients boarded a long caravan of buses to travel from New York to Albany (320 miles round trip) to protest planned budget cuts in welfare aid. The event was thoroughly covered by the press, radio and television.

To the best of my knowledge, no reporter who was present asked who paid for the buses. The cost must have been substantial. The sponsor of this massive logistical achievement went unhailed. It seems to me that any reporter of the Old School would have considered this to be vital information, and if he hadn't brought the information to the newsroom with him, his editor would have sent him back to get it.

- A group of high school students, estimated at more than 4,000, disrupted traffic on Fifth Avenue by staging a giant protest rally in front of the governor's Manhattan office. They said they were protesting budget cuts in state aid to New York's free colleges.

Those readers who thought it remarkable that so many high school kids had acquired, at so early an age, such vital interest in the state budget, looked in vain in the newspaper for any indication that a reporter had interviewed any of the protesters to see just how much they did know about the budget, or whether it was all a giant put-on.

The point is, the reporters and their editors accepted as *fact* the statement that these kids were protesting the budget cuts. If there was a reporter on the scene who was willing to bet that most of those youngsters had never seen a state budget and had no idea of what else was involved in it, there was no evidence of his skepticism in type.

- During the protracted disturbances at New York's schools, the TV coverage showed, day after day, rioting or chanting "students" who looked older than the teachers and seemed closer to Social Security than to high school.

In the Olympian stacks of copy written during that period, this reporter has found not one word about the ages of some of those "students."

The question is, should this matter of age have any influence on the strong and forthright editorial positions taken by the press?

The foregoing are relatively small matters, yet they are incidents involving some of the major issues of our times. An average citizen, thirsting for information, has a right to feel that as a newspaper reader, a television viewer, a radio listener, he is not being given all of the facts.

Therefore he might properly assume that in the absence of all of the facts, he would find difficulty in reaching a conclusion or forming an opinion about any given incident or any evolving issue. Quite properly, he may wonder how the newspapers can be so sure about their own editorial opinions,

When it comes to transcending issues, such as, say, President Nixon's decision on the ABM system, or this nation's posture toward Chinese-Russian border flare-ups, or what, ultimately, to do about Castro's Cuba, where detailed information must be lacking, the thoughtful person may conclude that if so many American newspapers are willing to make their decisions on domestic issues with an absence of all the facts, he has an obligation to mistrust their opinions about major matters.

Because they're out of touch with their readers, newspaper editors may not realize that they're losing their believability with the rank and file and that reader-skepticism is growing more widespread.

If the press loses its credibility, the strongest arm in the defense of individual liberty will have been crippled.

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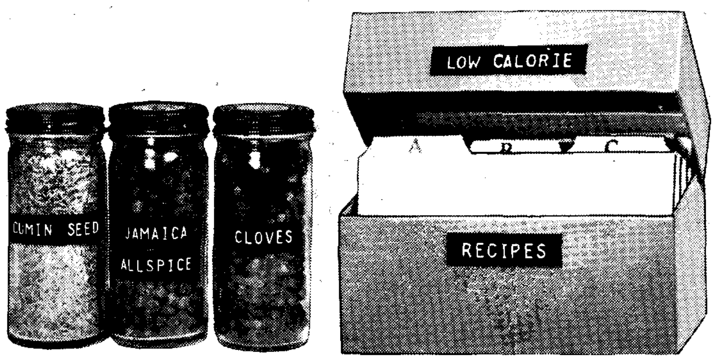

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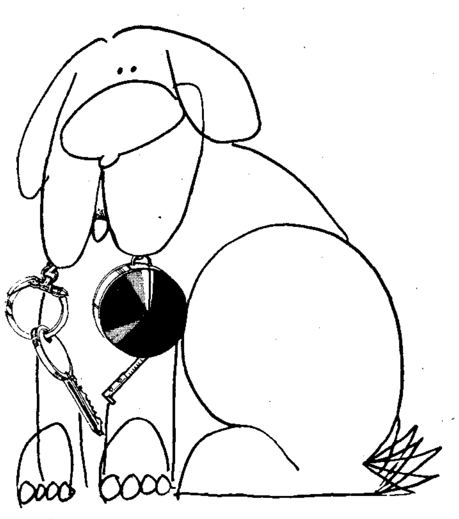

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Twenty-Five Years of U.S. Foreign Policy

The Communists have not overrun the globe, but they still hold the initiative

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Think back: *Human Events* first saw the light of day in the midst of what President Roosevelt labelled a "survival war," the first which our country had known since 1865. This was not a "police action" like the subsequent struggles in Korea and in Viet Nam. In 1944 the American people found themselves one of several "United Nations" battling a Rome-Berlin-Tokyo "Axis" bent on wholesale conquest, one of whose members had in December 1941 wantonly attacked the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor.

Before that assault, President Roosevelt had been giving limited aid to heroic Britain and long-suffering Nationalist China. But the American people, remembering their disappointment at Versailles in 1919, had remained sharply divided between interventionists and neutralists.

Pearl Harbor left them no choice. With a unanimity and energy that astounded the "Axis" powers, they settled down to defeating the aggressors. By April 1944, U.S. forces were successfully pushing their amphibious way across the Pacific toward Japan, were well on the way to liberating Italy and were massing in Britain for a landing on the Continent intended, with Russian assistance, to give mighty Germany the coup de grace.

This time there was to be no postwar retreat into isolationism, but full membership in a League of Nations revived under a new name. The American people, accepting for the first time the role of Great Power, would thenceforth cooperate with like-minded peoples for democracy, anti-colonialism and world peace.

That this would require close cooperation with a Soviet Union that had helped Hitler in starting World War II offered no problem to a nation persuaded by its President that Hitler's subsequent attack upon his confederate of 1939 had opened Stalin's eyes to the folly of his cunning pact with Nazi Germany in 1939. And anyhow, like it or not, Soviet participation in the "family of nations" and close Big-Power cooperation were essential to the realization of that lasting peace upon which so many millions everywhere had set their eyes. Such a goal, if reached, would compensate for any minor injustices which Moscow might exact as its price. . . .

This was the background against which *Human Events* appeared.

Militarily things went as planned: the Normandy landing, the gradual liberation of Italy and the Soviets' advance across East Europe. Germany's collapse in June 1945 pointed to Japan's prompt surrender. The appearance of a new American super-weapon called the A-bomb and the demonstrations of its unearthly power at Hiroshima and Nagasaki gave most Americans a feeling more of confidence than of alarm.

The danger posed by the rise of Adolf Hitler forced America to abandon its traditional isolationism.

FDR was sure he could handle Stalin, and Hull, Stimson and Marshall agreed. Winston Churchill's doubts were pooh-poohed away. Throughout the democratic West, those individuals who, during the war, had urged the need of limiting Soviet Russia's physical and ideological imperialism and questioned Stalin's intention of sincerely cooperating with his co-victorious partners were ignored as old-fashioned or derided as pessimists.

Although the American President returned from the Yalta summit conference with some slight doubt, he communicated none of it to his successor.

Much of Eastern Europe in the immediate postwar years traded the tyranny of Nazism for that of communism. Above, Soviet troops parade through Vienna, Austria, during the four-power occupation of that country.

Harry S Truman successfully sponsored the birth of the United Nations at San Francisco and, as he personally told me, at the Potsdam summit, "got everything he wanted" from Stalin. What if the Soviets were annexing the Baltic States, a slice of Poland and another of Germany; were devastating Manchuria; and contrary to the Yalta promise, were setting up Communist-dominated coalitions in all the countries which they "liberated"?

Assistant Secretary of State Acheson told the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Nov. 4, 1945) that "to have friendly governments along her borders is necessary both for the safety of the Soviet Union and the peace of the world."

In 1946 our President launched the Baruch Plan for turning over further development of atomic energy exclusively to an international agency and eventually destroying American A-bombs. No imperialist nonsense for America!

On the other hand, Stalin publicly declared that peace and capitalism were incompatible. His evasive refusal regarding the Baruch Plan that would have compelled him to cease developing his own A-bombs permitted only one conclusion: our wartime ally had revived Lenin's goal of Communist world rule.

Once Truman grasped the situation (he had a list of 37 broken Soviet pledges), the former U.S. artillery captain acted with typical courage and energy. He sent U.S. warships to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf to thwart Soviet claims in those areas. Informed of Britain's decision to withdraw its troops from threatened Greece, he boldly proclaimed the Truman Doctrine of supporting free peoples who were resisting attempted subjugation. He launched the Marshall Plan of economic aid to war-stricken Europe, thwarted Soviet domination of occupied Germany and somewhat later secured Senate consent to "regional and other collective arrangements," including individual or collective self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

"Never again," as I wrote at this time, "could Americans afford to indulge in that indifference towards matter foreign which their fathers had affected. . . . As a great power the United States had committed itself . . . to intervention wherever freedom was endangered and being defended . . . a people addicted to security faced the need of learning to live insecurely or of trying to recuperate this lost confidence by some new adventure of unequalled boldness." (See my *Nightmare of American Foreign Policy,* Alfred Knopf, 1948.)

Truman saved Western Europe, Greece and Turkey and strengthened our somewhat strained ties with Latin America. Willy nilly, the United States found itself with a worldwide foreign policy.

Unhappily, in Asia he permitted containment to leak. In conformity with FDR's wrong-headed policy of trying to force the Kuomintang to form a postwar coalition government with the Chinese Reds, Truman withheld both military and financial aid from our wartime ally until it was too late. By the time he changed his mind, Mao had taken over Mainland China and Chiang had retreated to Formosa.

The Reds' conquest of China automatically engendered the North Korean-Red Chinese attempt to seize South Korea. In spite of a United Nations resolution authorizing member states to reunite Korea, Truman, after saving the south, accepted the advice of Britain's Attlee and India's Nehru and went no further.

The Republicans won the 1952 election by accusing the Democrats of "communism, corruption and Korea" and by Dwight D. Eisenhower's campaign promise of "prosecuting the Cold War . . . to victory," this last a policy which Secretary of State Dulles defined as the "roll-back" of communism.

They started well. In the summer of 1953 Ike compelled the North Korean and Red Chinese to stop fighting by the threat of using all necessary means (by inference, even atomic bombs) to compel them to do so.

He stepped up aid to the French who, having promised autonomy to the Indochinese, refused to allow Communist Ho Chi Minh to throw them out.

He twice saved Formosa from Red China attack by a show of U.S. force.

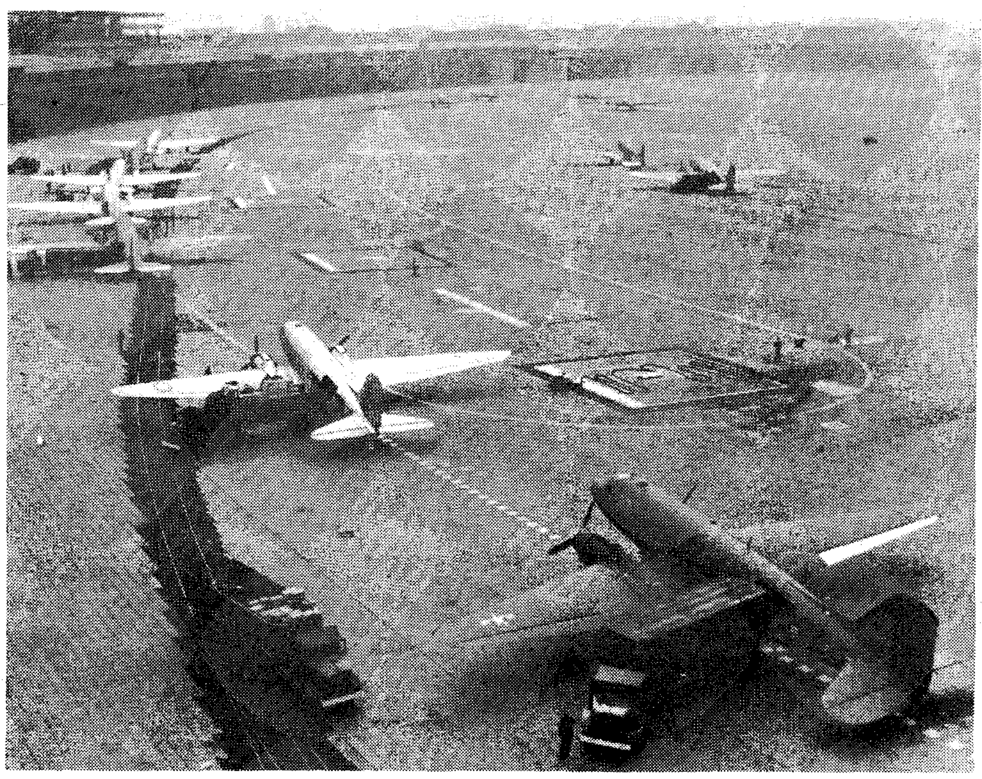
Even though America, like Britain and France, refused to merge its forces in a common Atlantic army, Eisen-

(*Continued on following page*)

Soviet diplomacy in the prewar period was geared then as now to the advancement of Russian aims. In 1935 Stalin discussed mutual assistance pacts with French diplomat (and later Premier) Pierre Laval. This was but one of the many Communist efforts to divide the West.

For biographical information on Mr. Mowrer, please see page 61.

The Yalta Conference, held in 1945, paved the way for Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe while leaving vital American interests open to Communist pressure.



U.S. C-47s line up at Berlin's Tempelhof Airport in the historic effort to relieve the beleaguered city. Eventually the Russians lifted the blockade.

hower boldly brought West Germany into the existing North Atlantic Treaty Organization and organized the common defense of West Europe, thus ending Soviet hopes of conquering or otherwise dominating that all-important area.

Going farther, the Administration sought to "encircle" the Communist bloc by further alliances from Turkey to Japan. In the Philippines it supported Magsaysay's successful suppression of the Communist Huks. In Indochina it provided the French with war materiel.

The President thwarted a Red attempt to seize Lebanon by landing U.S. Marines and proclaiming the "Eisenhower Doctrine," a sort of reaffirmation of the Truman Doctrine of 1947.

These were no small achievements. But Stalin's successor, Malenkov, had announced in 1953 a "new" Soviet policy of "peaceful co-existence" with capitalist countries.

In essence, this meant only a shift from open violence and threat of violence to intensified propaganda, subversion, military probing and support of *local* wars of "national liberation." Yet this shift provided Western leaders, among them Winston Churchill, with an excuse for ceasing to believe in the Cold War. The man who had in 1951 again become prime minister of Britain was no longer the indomitable anti-Communist who in February 1946 had urged opposition to Moscow and two years later, bombing the Russians out of East Europe. Now he favored immediate talks with Moscow, explaining that "blah blah" is better than "wa' wa'." This amounted to the advocacy of U.S. recognition of Red China and to the acceptance of "popular front" governments, of the non-alignment of weak countries threatened by communism, and of the immediate liberation of all colonies—except those of the Soviet Union.

Moscow's speed in developing nuclear weapons had impressed Eisenhower. In consequence he made an American air strike to help the besieged French at Dienbienphu conditional on British participation (denied, of course) and shortly thereafter acceded to Churchill's desire for a new summit meeting to settle outstanding disputes with the Soviet Union.

Aside from enabling Eisenhower and Marshal Zhukov to discover that they were both grandfathers (!), the only tangible result of the summit was the Russians' conviction that they could continue seeking to spread their blight by all means short of major war without fear of a nuclear attack by America.

This was bad enough. Yet the definitive revelation of the phoniness of the Administration's policy of "liberation" came with the Hungarian insurrection a year later. Then by dropping one or two U.S. parachute divisions while Soviet troops were moving out, Eisenhower could have successfully begun the promised "roll back." Dulles apparently thought of doing so. But the President overruled him and instead, the secretary of state, according to recent evidence, told Tito of Yugoslavia that Eisenhower believed the Soviet Union had a right to friendly neighbors! Whereupon the Russians turned around and brutally suppressed the revolt, thereby destroying any confidence East Europeans might still have had in American support.

Eisenhower and Dulles seemed more interested in thwarting the Israeli-British-French attempt to prevent Nasser of Egypt from illegally seizing the Suez Canal. For this purpose they cheerfully accepted Soviet cooperation at the United Nations.

A few months later, Moscow successfully launched the first man-made satellite able to carry a nuclear missile. U.S. talk of "liberation" and "massive retaliation" gave way to what the President now called his "peace crusade."

Instead of giving to France the same nuclear assistance as had been given Britain and accepting General de Gaulle's suggestion of creating a NATO executive committee to carry out a common policy all over the world (the Kremlin's nightmare!), Eisenhower set about mollifying the Soviet Union by such steps as a unilateral suspension of U.S. nuclear tests and the suggestion of an exchange of visits by himself and the Soviet boss. To please the Russian, he changed the name of "Radio Liberation" to "Radio Liberty."

The result was foreseeable. While Khrushchev was touring the United States telling Americans what they had to do if they wanted peace, was stepping up his own nuclear tests and reopening the latent Berlin crisis, Eisenhower, who had already promised "as a soldier" not to attack the USSR, earnestly begged the Butcher of Budapest to call him friend!

But for the U-2 incident, nobody can say how far U.S. appeasement might have gone. Khrushchev at a Paris press conference referred to the American President as a "thief caught red-handed whose head should be banged against the wall." American prestige was falling rapidly. Threats by Red-inclined students in Tokyo forced the American President to cancel a long-planned visit to Japan. In the former Belgian Congo, an upstart near-Communist called Lumumba all but took over that country.

Frustrated in his "peace crusade," Eisenhower finally decided to help Cuban patriots oust the bearded Red dictator who, with American diplomatic approval, if not direct assistance, had seized power from "corrupt" Batista while pretending to be just another "democratic reformer." Had he carried this out, history's judgment of his Administration would have been different. But he started too late.

What had happened to our magnificent wartime general? His book, *The White House Years*, fails to make clear what went wrong. Like other Americans, he wanted peace. But why instead of the promised "roll back" did he put his trust in FDR's bankrupt policy of friendship with Moscow and in Truman's hope of containment, plus time, to prevent serious trouble between the United States and Russia?

Whatever the explanation, even two such friendly commentators as Drummond and Coblentz (*Duel at the Brink*) concluded that "cumulative shift in the balance of power against the United States had become the dominant tragic fact of the Dulles (meaning the Eisenhower) era."

And worse was to come.

John F. Kennedy came to the White House with an attractive presence, a handsome wife and speechwriters capable of turning out the kind of striking noncommittal phrases that Americans love—only to find himself in a different world situation which he proceeded to worsen.

By toning down Eisenhower's plan for supporting Cuban patriots' liberation of their country, and refusing any participation in it, he secured its failure —and blamed it on the Central Intelligence Agency.

At a meeting with Khrushchev at Vienna, he impressed the Bolshevik with his uncertainty, a judgment apparently justified by Kennedy's subsequent passivity in the face of the (illegal) erection of the Berlin Wall.

This in turn led the Russian to believe that he could, with impunity, forestall any further U.S. attempts to overthrow Castro by implanting well-protected, middle-range, nuclear-headed missiles in Cuba.

Here he overreached. The young American President would have none of this. But under the influence of Adlai Stevenson and his brother, Bobby Kennedy, instead of welcoming this opportunity to eliminate communism from the Western Hemisphere, JFK accepted a Russian proposal to withdraw the missiles in exchange for an American promise to leave Castro inviolate. Going further, the President "voluntarily" withdrew our "obsolete" intermediate missiles from Turkey, Greece and Britain.

Thereafter, his fear of a new Soviet-American confrontation "at the brink" (the kind Dulles insisted was essential to successful containment) led him to concentrate on cooperation with the Soviet Union. This took the form of partial unilateral disarmament (the "nuclear parity" dear to McNamara); of the substitution in Europe of a strategy of "graduated deterrence" for that of "massive retaliation"; of the acceptance of a policy of aiding neutrals at the expense of allies (India against Pakistan); and of pushing anti-colonialism everywhere outside the only remaining empire, the Soviet Union.

In deference to the last two, "Soapy" Williams travelled through Africa peddling an "instant democracy" upon which several countries sickened.

In Latin America, the well-intentioned "Alliance for Progress" foundered in part on the Administration's yen for "progressive governments" and in the process produced more military regimes.

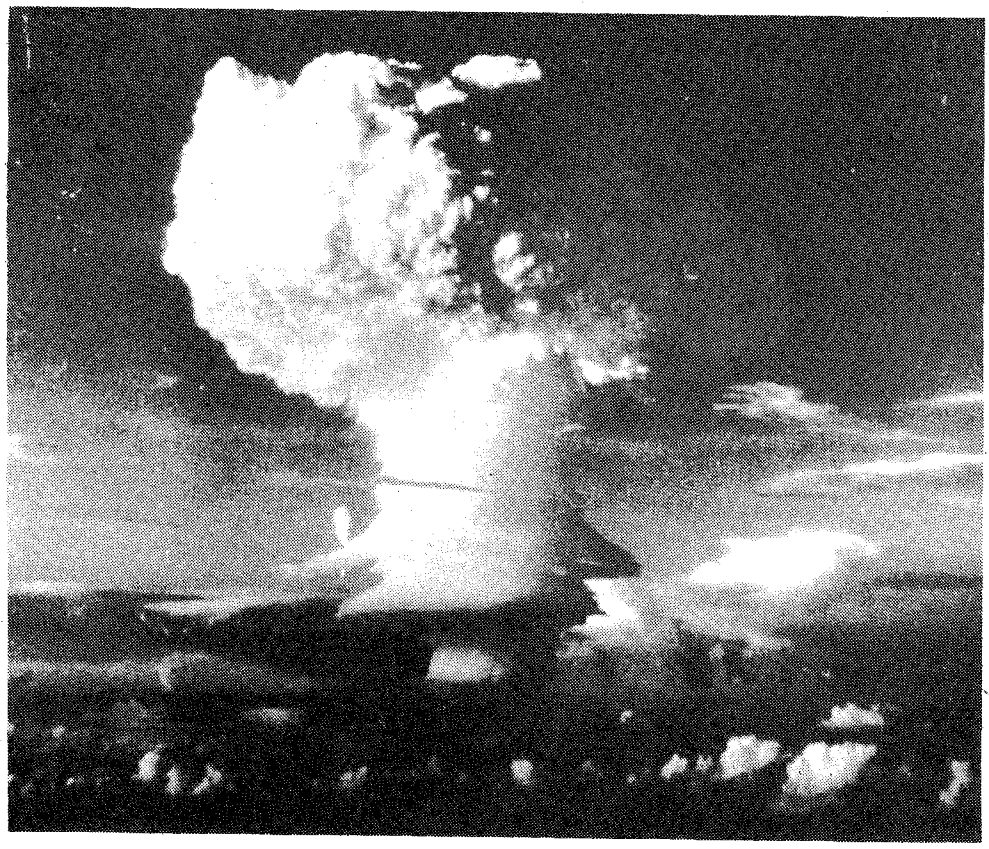
In doubtless sincere pursuit of a "dumbbell" Atlantic alliance JFK offered as bait to disunited Europe a "multilateral nuclear force" of surface ships with mixed crews and nuclear weapons over which Washington would still have control. This meager enticement, called by the French the "multilateral nuclear farce," provided President de Gaulle with a further reason for withdrawing militarily from NATO.

Even while Kennedy was sending military advisers to threatened South Viet Nam (helped by the United States since 1954), he accepted a de facto division of neighboring Laos that left the Ho Chi Minh Trail at the disposal of North Vietnamese intent on annexing the southerners. As a climax, he decided to eliminate the "arrogant" ruler of South Viet Nam, Ngo Dinh Diem, lest the latter create too great opposition among the partly pro-Communist Buddhists.

Even though Diem at the last moment offered complete cooperation with his American protectors, Kennedy remained obdurate. The Vietnamese military not only eliminated Diem but murdered him. It took the United States about two years to overcome the harm thus done to the defense policy, now handicapped by unavowed U.S.-Russian agreements that guaranteed the northern aggressors against invasion, against the blockading of the ports through which they received supplies, and against the bombing of the Red River dikes whose destruction would have halved their food supply.

All this in deference to a policy of

(*Continued on following page*)



With the help of spies in the United States, the Soviet Union exploded its first hydrogen bomb in 1953, beginning an era of nuclear competition between the two superpowers.

The Korean War was intensified by the entry of the Red Chinese into the conflict. After 33,000 Americans and countless Koreans had perished, the United States settled for an inconclusive armistice.

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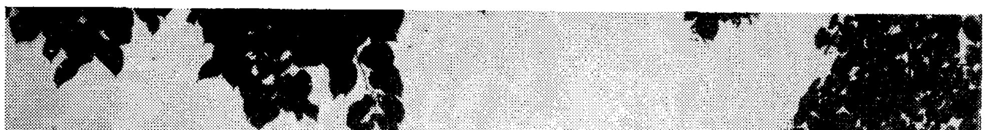
Despite liberal prattle about a "mellowing" Soviet Union, the Communists lost no time in subduing Czechoslovakia. Above, Red Army units cross the Czech border.



Still the Berlin Wall remains as testimony to the brutality of world communism.

avoiding escalation of the conflict and counting on time to bring about the "convergence" of Russian and American societies.

With Kennedy's death, Lyndon Baines Johnson inherited a crisis in Viet Nam that compelled him either to send even greater American forces in increasing numbers, or to see the south succumb to northern attacks, with disastrous repercussion throughout the entire Far East. Though he sent the forces, he maintained the voluntary restrictions and in a speech of Oct. 17, 1966, made peaceful overtures to the USSR, the chief supplier of an aggressor whose forces, plus local allies, had by the end of 1968 killed some 35,000 Americans and wounded 200,000!

Instead of casting aside all shackles and allowing the U.S. and South Vietnamese military to win the war in short order, LBJ chose, in March 1968, to mollify the domestic peaceniks by withdrawing from the coming presidential race and offering negotiations to North Viet Nam, two acts considered by millions everywhere as an admission the United States could not win.

Small wonder that after many months of talk in Paris Ho still had made no concessions. Nonetheless, to the end of his term President Johnson remained convinced that Kosygin and Brezhnev wanted to end the war as much as he did and would at the appropriate time compel Ho to accept an "honorable" compromise.

Elsewhere LBJ had some moderate successes. He obtained a truce in Cyprus, though at the cost of Turkey's confidence in America's friendship. Conceivably his Glassboro talk with Kosygin prevented the Russian from trying to *compel* Israel to yield all fruits of victory in the six-day war.

On the other hand, Johnson's unceasing peace overtures persuaded Kosygin that he risked nothing by rearming the Arab states or by moving a powerful fleet into the eastern Mediterranean, where they hastened to place supply bases at its disposal. His talk of peace further convinced the Kremlin that it could safely carry out the five-power occupation of Czechoslovakia whose government, though Communist, was planning some liberalization at home and greater contacts with the non-Communist West, notably, with West Germany.

Most distressing of all, our President's relative neglect of NATO (typical were his withdrawal of some U.S. troops from Europe and his insistence on a nuclear non-proliferation treaty aimed at keeping West Germany powerless) strongly suggested to our vulnerable allies that the United States was resigned to "dividing the world" with the Soviet Union.

Such was the international situation in April 1969. To be sure, in a quarter of a century, U.S. policy had in some respects succeeded. Two-thirds of the world's population remained free of Communist tyranny. Red Russia and Red China were at loggerheads, though for how long none could say. Mao Tse-tung's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had produced everything from a new Children's Crusade to a free-for-all among the Mainland Chinese. Previously indifferent Far Eastern countries were becoming acutely aware of the Red threat.

On the other hand, no fully Communist country had liberated itself or been liberated. The Russo-Chinese ideological dispute resembled the argument between Peking and Moscow that of the two cannibals who had trapped a fat missionary. One wanted to kill him with a blow on the neck. The other preferred floating him in the nearby river until he died of exhaustion, thoroughly tenderized.

This then was the legacy which Richard M. Nixon inherited from his predecessor and which his visit to several NATO capitals failed substantially to change.

The reason was clear to all who would look. U.S. Founding Father Fisher Ames had written: "It is a law of politics as well as of physics that a body in motion always overcomes an equal body at rest." Against the dynamic Reds the West, including the United States, had sought to be left alone!

To Nixon's good fortune, the contending bodies were still anything but equal. Potentially, the United States and its allies overshadowed the combined Communists *militarily, economically* and *scientifically*. To do so *politically*, they needed only to unify their assets and their policies, drop the non-proliferation treaty and negotiate only collectively with the USSR. First of all the United States had to win the war in Viet Nam.

In the face of such moral domestic opposition, this seemed an overwhelming order. Yet the alternative was more Viet Nams and an indefinite prolongation of the Cold War.

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The Keynesians' Faith Is Oozing Away

Zealots still hold firm, but then some people never learn

By HENRY HAZLITT

> **"The piquant situation is that Keynes himself is now a defunct economist."**—The London Economist

Oct. 26, 1968, marked a turning point in fashionable economic thought. The London *Economist* of that date carried an article on John Maynard Keynes. It recalled that at the end of his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, published in 1936, Keynes declaimed in a famous passage on the hidden power of superannuated economic ideas: "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." And the *Economist* itself was then cruel enough to remark:

> **"The piquant situation is that Keynes himself is now a defunct economist."**

The New York *Times* recognized that this remark was news. "In England, the land of his birth," announced the *Times* on November 6, "they have suddenly discovered that John Maynard Keynes is dead."

It could be argued, of course, that the article in the *Economist* may have indicated nothing more than a change of opinion on the part of the editors of that publication. Yet the New York *Times*' more sweeping conclusion is probably justified. For the *Economist* has long been a weather vane of fashionable economic thinking in England; for years its editorials have reflected the Keynesian ideology; and its public recantation reveals not only what has been happening inside the *Economist* but inside the whole British establishment.

Until that announcement some five months ago, the editors of the *Economist*, like the Keynesians in the universities, had ignored or derided any basic criticism of the patron saint of deficit spending.

When the present writer in 1959 wrote a book called *The Failure of the New Economics*, subtitled "An Analysis of the Keynesian Fallacies," the *Economist*'s review dismissed it as "a dropsical pamphlet," and did not condescend to answer a single argument or factual statement in it.

The review, in fact, went on to express its low opinion not only of my own criticisms of Keynes but of everybody else's up to that time: "It is the more unfortunate that the only all-round reassessments [of Keynes] which have in fact been attempted . . . resemble nothing so much as the continuing Fundamentalist attacks on Darwin."

This amazing implication that all general criticisms of Keynes were ignorant or benighted was written when such criticisms had already been published by economists of world stature—including Jacques Rueff, F. A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Jacob Viner, Frank Knight, Etienne Mantoux, Benjamin Anderson, Wilhelm Roepke, Arthur Burns and W. H. Hutt.

An anthology I edited in 1960, *The Critics of Keynesian Economics*, brought together 21 such "all-round reassessments"—all published before the *Economist*'s stricture.

The refusal of the campus Keynesians to attempt any serious rebuttal of my own analysis could, of course, plausibly be attributed to the fact that I was only a journalist, and not a member of the academic union. But when, in 1963, Prof. W. H. Hutt, dean of the faculty of commerce at the University of Capetown, published his brilliant and penetrating volume, *Keynesianism—Retrospect and Prospect*, his criticisms met the same fate as mine. The Keynesians simply ignored their existence.

Yet while the Keynesians were ignoring these and other direct frontal attacks, their fortress was crumbling from within. They still, so to speak, kept up their regular church attendance, and preached the same sermons in the same esoteric vocabulary, but they were troubled by inner doubts. Their faith was oozing away.

There were, I suspect, two chief causes of this. Economic predictions based on Keynesian assumptions were constantly turning sour. Economic policies based on Keynesian assumptions were not producing the results expected from them. One could cite a long series of these disappointments, but I will content myself with the latest:

The Keynesians advocated the 10 per cent income-tax surcharge of 1968 in the belief that by itself it would "cool off" the economy and slow down the inflation. Yet in the calendar year 1968 consumer prices rose 4.7 per cent compared with a 3.1 per cent increase in 1967, and with an average annual increase of only 1.7 per cent in the 10-year period from 1957 to 1967. The price rise was as great in the six months after the tax increase as in the six months preceding it.

The weaknesses of Keynesian economics (which has today been rechristened "the New Economics") have become more and more obvious as the attempt has been made to apply it to economic policy. The New Economists, amply represented in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations on the Council of Economic Advisers, confidently (not to say cockily) assumed that they could apply the new doctrines to "fine tune" the economy. The results have been disillusioning.

To apply the New Economics to fiscal policy it is first of all necessary to forecast what economic conditions are going to be if there is no change in fiscal policy. It is necessary that this forecast not only be correct but that it be made in time to prevent the feared depression or the feared inflation.

If a surplus or deficit is indicated, it is necessary to know how big it ought to be—to know the correct "dosage." The forecast must also be made early enough so that Congress will have time to take the appropriate action and so that the economic response to that action will not come too late.

In practice none of these requirements has been fulfilled. The forecasts have not been correct. They would have come too late even if they were correct. The proper dosage of deficit, assuming that there is such a proper dosage, has never been applied or even specified. Things have chronically gone wrong. For the fiscal year 1968 the government ran a mountainous deficit of $25 billion when even the canons of the new economics would have called for a surplus.

A detailed account of how and why the new economic theories and nostrums have gone astray can be found in George Terborgh's new book, *The New Economics* (Machinery and Allied Products Institute, Washington). After a careful examination of the actual record, Terborgh concludes that "so far as it goes it confirms the cynical assessment that the new economics is a one-way street to inflation."

But the New Economics failed not only because it is impossible to make sufficiently accurate economic forecasts far enough in advance, but because it is systematically wrong about what factors and changes produce higher or lower employment, higher or lower production, or higher or lower incomes and prices.

One of the alleged great "contributions" of Lord Keynes to economic science was to disregard changes in the quantity of money as an important factor in determining changes in economic activity, employment and prices. He threw all the emphasis on the relation between investment and government spending, on the one hand, and income, on the other.

People have a highly stable "propensity to consume," he contended, so that the amount they spend on consumption and the amount they save depends directly and dependably on the amount that people want to save and the amount that businessmen invest must be in balance. If businessmen do not invest enough, then the government must run a deficit to make up the difference.

Neither Keynes nor his disciples recognized the elementary point that if you want to increase the amount of "purchasing power," what is relevant is not whether or not there is a government budget deficit, but whether or not it is financed by the sale of government bonds to the public or by the printing of more money. It is the size of the increase in the stock of money that counts, not the size of the deficit.

In recent years the so-called "Chicago school," under the leadership of Prof. Milton Friedman, has been emphasizing this point and supporting it with formidable statistical documentation. The point was so completely overlooked in the Keynesian literature, however, that Friedman's contentions have been hailed as new and startling doctrine.

He himself has made no such claims for them. In a lecture in 1963, for example, he was saying: "The emphasis I have just been placing on the stock of money as the [inflationary] culprit is widely regarded as old-fashioned and out of date."

And he remarked at a later point in the same lecture: "One can go back one or two thousand years or more and find that every time there is inflation, two explanations are offered. One explanation is that the amount of money has increased. The other explanation is that something special has happened. . . ."

In brief, what the Chicago school has done has been to reinstate the classical quantity theory of money as the primary explanation of inflation and of changes in the price level, and to make it also the primary explanation of the quarterly, annual or other cyclical fluctuations in the economy. As such, it displaces the Keynesian explanation.

But perhaps the main reason for the decline of Keynesianism, among all but a comparative handful of hard-core zealots, has been the spreading recognition that the basic Keynesian remedy for unemployment, always and everywhere, has turned out to be plain inflation.

Keynes' *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* was published in 1936. In the 33 years since then the American budget has registered 27 annual deficits and only six surpluses. Consumer prices have risen 157 per cent. In other words, the purchasing power of the dollar has been degraded to less than 40 per cent of what it was in 1936. The British pound has been devalued twice. Practically all of the world's currencies have been devalued at least once. All of them without exception have lost purchasing power; all of them have depreciated.

The international monetary system set up at Bretton Woods in 1944, of which Keynes of Britain and Harry Dexter White of the United States were the two chief architects, is in crisis. All the proposals to rescue it are proposals to permit and facilitate further inflation of individual currencies or of all currencies collectively—either to stop keeping the dollar even nominally convertible into gold, or to raise the price of gold, or to substitute paper "reserves" for gold reserves, or to remove any obligation of individual countries to maintain the value of their currencies in terms of gold, or the dollar, or other currencies.

Precisely how much of the inflation of the last 33 years, and how much of the pressure for still further inflation, can be blamed on the Keynesian ideology it would be impossible to say. But there is not the slightest doubt that the acceptance of Keynesian theories is responsible for a good deal of it—perhaps for the greater part of it.

Keynesianism has supplied the excuse and the rationale for the inflation of the last third of a century as well as the rationale for still further inflation. Keynesianism is still the doctrine of government economic planners everywhere. Though these planners now express perfunctory fears of further inflation, they still reveal much stronger fears of the unemployment they think would descend upon us if there were to be "too sudden" a halt to inflation. So they talk only of reducing the *rate* of inflation, say from 5 per cent to "only" 3 per cent a year.

In sum, Keynesianism, under that name, has definitely lost its former intellectual prestige. The majority of academic economists still pay lip service to it, but with more and more qualifications and less and less conviction. It is in the world of would-be practical men, in the world of the politicians and their appointed economic planners, that this defunct economic doctrine continues to rule, and as an unlabelled rationale for perpetual deficits and perpetual inflation, continues to work enormous harm.

For biographical information on Mr. Hazlitt, please see page 60.

Hoover, MacArthur, Byrd, Taft

Four Men Who Gave Strength to Conservative Movement

Herbert Hoover: American Individualist

By EUGENE LYONS

In time, Herbert Hoover did accommodate himself to the label of "conservative." But he was never entirely comfortable with it.

To the end of his 90 years he thought of himself as a liberal, old-style, and equated his liberalism with American individualism. Like myriad others of his generation, he believed that the word "liberal" had been expropriated and turned inside out by imposters to cover concepts that were illiberal and even reactionary.

In 1922 he published a small book he called *American Individualism*. He was then in his late 40s and it was an attempt, in his own words, "to formulate some orderly definition" of the American society. Too much the pragmatist, the engineer if you will, to cling rigidly to its views, they summed up the philosophy to which he remained faithful all his life.

American individualism, as he saw it, was not a fixed doctrine or ideology, but a flexible, empiric way of life. Along with its monumental triumphs, he conceded, it had spawned social evils that needed reform and correction.

Accordingly, in the book and in speeches and articles thereafter, he called for collective bargaining to improve existence for workers, measures to protect the health and welfare of children, higher inheritance taxes to unfreeze "inactive capital" and curb the power of big fortunes, and a series of other concrete proposals which marked him at that time as a liberal.

His insistent demands for strong controls over banking and stock promotion, in particular, affronted standpatters, with runaway prosperity gathering speed. He gained few friends and many devoted enemies in Wall Street and business generally.

However—and this is where he veered away sharply from "revolutionary" thinking in those years—Hoover considered the American system to be fundamentally sound and viable. He argued that all necessary changes could be evolved within the existing pattern; that to jettison its basic assumptions and tamper with its mechanisms would threaten the health and the very survival of American individualism.

Meanwhile, Communist and other collectivist forces were undermining the traditional concepts of liberalism and hijacking its vocabulary. Before long they were to make "liberalism" almost a synonym for its opposites: for big government, totalitarianism, the sinking of the person into some abstraction of collective, society or class.

That social mongrel, the "totalitarian liberal," took command at the Left and pushed the genuine, old-fashioned liberals toward the Right. This process reached its culmination in the 1930s (which I called "The Red Decade" in a history of those years), when the redefined and distorted liberalism produced the New Deal.

In fact if not in name, Herbert Hoover thus found himself aligned with conservatives, and their firmest spokesman.

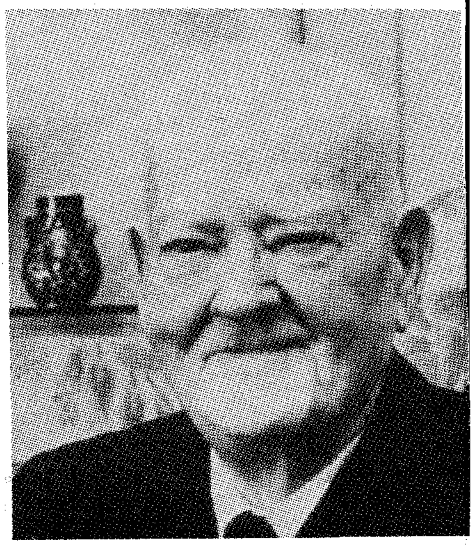
★ ★ ★

I was prompted to touch on this historical and semantic background when the editors asked me for an article on Hoover for the 25th anniversary edition of *Human Events*. Why another essay on this subject, and why on this particular occasion? But thinking it through, I recognized that the editors were quite right—a spotlight on Hoover is entirely relevant to the birthday celebration of an important conservative journal.

Political labels aside, *the values our 31st President lived by, suffered for and incarnated are those cherished by conservatives*. In Hoover there was no trace of the expediency and moral relativism of the Left-Liberal Establishment.

It is my feeling, indeed, that conservatives have been neglectful in not claiming Hoover for their cause more vigorously and persistently. Every movement needs and craves its "heroes," leaders who personify its ideals and temper. For American conservatives, this century has produced no one more fitted for the role than Herbert Hoover.

Besides being a steadfast champion of basic conservative ideas, he was a man of total honor and integrity, ethical austerity and forthright patriotism. His life, his many lives—in engineering, in public service and above all in prodigious humanitarian dedications—add up to drama. To a remarkable degree he combined practical talents for organization with a genius for compassion.



Although Herbert Hoover left office under severe criticism, the greatness of the man was appreciated as time passed.

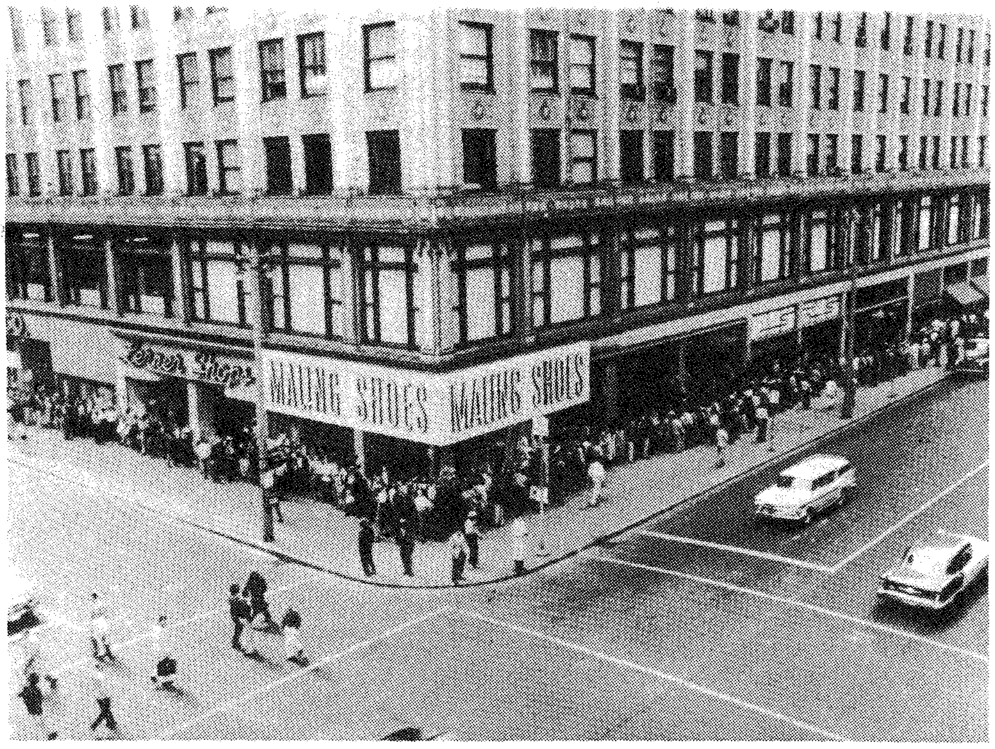
Certainly a systematic effort is overdue to make young Americans, especially, aware of Herbert Hoover, not only in political terms but as an example of moral wholeness and vitality.

In this time of cynicism, nihilism and sheer muddle-headedness among the young, on and off the campus, he stands big and tall for courageous devotion to time-tested values. To know Hoover rightly could be an inspiration for the present and future generations.

The standard accusation of new-style liberals has been that opponents of their patent-medicine welfarism and collectivism, in short, conservatives, are indifferent to human misery. Hoover's biography gives the lie to that nonsense. Benevolence was its hallmark. Many nations around the globe came to look upon him as both the symbol and the competent instrument of America's most humane impulses.

The defamation of Hoover was not, as generally supposed, simply an automatic reaction to the Great Depression, as its victims reached out for a scapegoat. It was a calculated campaign of malice, planned, lushly financed, staffed by propaganda specialists.

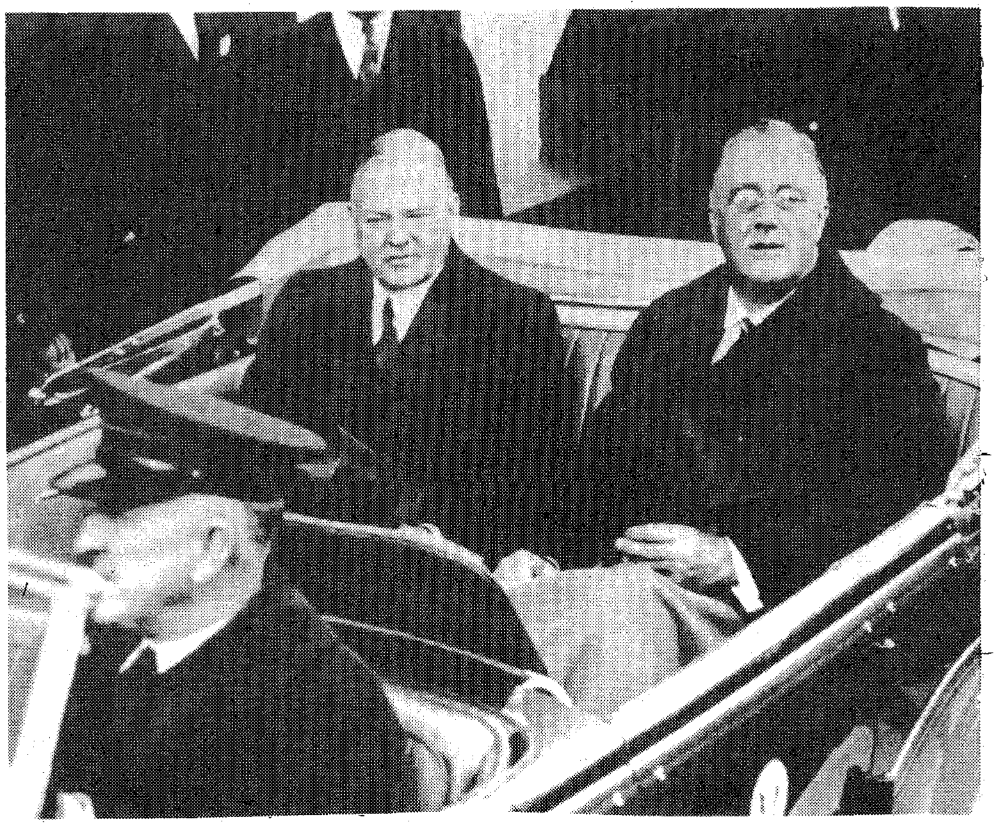
In scope and duration, there is no parallel for that enterprise in our po-



Long lines of unemployed were a feature of the Depression days and unfairly named "Hoovervilles" sprung up on the American scene.

About the Author

Mr. Lyons, formerly a senior editor of the **Reader's Digest**, has been a reporter, foreign correspondent, radio commentator, lecturer, best-selling author, and a prolific contributor to national magazines. For six years he served as United Press correspondent in Moscow. His best-selling book, **Assignment in Utopia**, published in 1937, tells the story of those years. Subsequently he authored **Stalin: Czar of All the Russias, Herbert Hoover: A Biography, David Sarnoff** and a balance sheet of the first half-century of Soviet communism: **Workers' Paradise Lost**. Mr. Lyons was a founding member and the second president of the Overseas Press Club.



An understandably glum Hoover accompanied President-elect Franklin Roosevelt during the latter's inauguration in March 1933. Ironically, many of the government's crash measures to alleviate the Depression were Hoover's ideas, which had been blocked by the Democratic 72nd Congress.

litical history. Far from being relaxed after Hoover left the White House, the smearing was stepped up, until he was turned in the public mind into a monster of callousness and ineptitude. The campaign was so colossal and ramified that merely to recount its highlights took scores of pages in my biography of the man.

Hoover's Quaker-bred refusal, indeed inability, to defend himself on the purely personal level is an extraordinary story in itself.

He suffered under the vilification and ridicule, but counted serenely on time to wash the mud off his character. It did—slowly and, alas, not yet completely. President Roosevelt, to the embarrassment of less vindictive associates, kept up his vendetta to the last with almost pathological zest. Only after his passing did the tides of anti-Hoover slander begin to recede.

The central libel, of course, had it that Hoover had "caused" the Depression. Charlie Michelson, New Deal generalissimo of the vile campaign, knew well enough that this was a falsehood; yet he would boast in his autobiography of having convinced the country that Hoover was the "author of the Depression."

It was truly a great propaganda achievement, considering that Hoover had been one of the few in public life who, in eight years as secretary of commerce, had repeatedly decried "the rising boom and orgy of speculation," warning that the inflated prosperity must lead to "inevitable collapse which will bring the greatest calamities upon our farmers, our workers and legitimate business."

Eventually even New Deal spokesmen absolved Hoover of the grotesque lie that he was somehow responsible for the economic collapse against which he had warned; and that he "did nothing" to alleviate suffering when it came. Fewer Americans could evade the fact that depression continued throughout the New Deal years, until ended by the war, so that as measured by duration it was more a "Roosevelt depression" than a "Hoover depression."

By Oct. 20, 1964, when Hoover died, his restoration to public esteem was far advanced. The nation's conscience, long bothered by his cruel ordeal, was eased in a great outpouring of eulogy and affection, all acknowledging that he had been unjustly blamed and persecuted.

The "historical evaluation" of Hoover which so many foretold is doubtless under way. But unhappily residues of the old smear-stuff remain. Especially among young people, and not only in the New Left, we still hear casual references to the "Hoover depression," "Hoovervilles," "Hoover breadlines" and other leftovers of the slander.

Too many of the inventions of malice remain enshrined as "history" in schoolbooks. And in all but a handful of high school, college and university libraries there is not a single full-scale life story of Hoover to which students can turn for the facts.

Hence the importance even at this late date—in justice to a great human being and in justice to the conservative cause—of bringing the truth about Hoover to more of our countrymen. Unfortunately there is as yet only one book that can serve this purpose. Until a better appears, as I hope it will, I must urge that the dissemination of my *Herbert Hoover: A Biography* be tackled as a priority assignment by the kind of people who read *Human Events.*

In saying this, obviously, I risk the suspicion of self-interest, but the goal is worth the risk. Once before I offered to forgo royalties to make possible the distribution of the book to some 32,000 school and university libraries in the country, but the necessary funds, small as they were, could not be raised.

A paperback edition, to bring the biography within easy reach of those who most need it, young and old, surely is called for at this time. The birthday of Hoover (August 10) ought to be regularly memorialized and other methods found for focusing attention on our first Quaker President.

★ ★ ★

On the ex-President's 86th birthday, Mike Mansfield, the Democratic majority leader, said of Hoover on the floor of the Senate: "In the light of history, I believe that he was a great President, and I think future historians will bear out this statement." Others before and since have expressed the same judgment.

But personally I believe that it is largely irrelevant how he is rated on any arbitrary scale of presidential greatness. His life, I think, will be measured less by what he did, immense though it was, than by what he *was.* Already he is being appraised by his countrymen in moral rather than conventional political terms. Let me quote a few sentences from my biography:

"Hoover, of course, made many mistakes and misjudgments. But none of them can be traced to moral flaws, appetites for power and glory, to arrogance or malice. . . . The mistakes charged against him, when they stand up at all, reflect on his techniques or his views, not on his character. . . . Hoover consistently renounced popularity for principle, for duty as he conceived it. As President, and then as ex-President, he never revised or reversed himself under the terror of organized abuse. . . . At the risk of sounding melodramatic, I dare suggest that his personal experience holds some of the elements of classic prophets, for it contained a time of crucifixion and a time of resurrection."

Douglas MacArthur: The Last General

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Brent Bozell, in a recent effort in *Triumph* magazine to account for the collapse of the conservative movement, speaks of the abandonment of four propositions: anti-statism, nationalism, anti-communism and constitutionalism. He assigns a "convenient symbol, or hero figure" to each proposition. Thus "anti-statism" was represented by Bob Taft, "anti-communism" by Joe McCarthy, "constitutionalism" by Bricker or Thurmond, and "nationalism" by Gen. Douglas MacArthur. All of the propositions were summed up in Goldwater, who lost the election in 1964. Bozell thinks the conservative movement fell into total irrelevance then and there.

If Bozell is right about the collapse of his four propositions, however, it won't be because the conservative cause was trounced at the polls. Anti-statism, though it currently lacks such dedicated champions as the late Frank Chodorov, still has a kick left in it, as the yearnings for black capitalism, the Nixon Administration's hopes for salvation by tax credits, and the confused gropings of Karl Hess and the libertarian Left for a sort of local-option individualist radicalism, all go to prove.

Anti-communism will hardly be revived with the McCarthy intensity as long as the Communists themselves are having internal troubles, but in a direct crisis (as distinct from the present sleeping danger), I have no doubt that it would spring to life. As for the fate of constitutionalism, let us wait and see who succeeds Earl Warren as chief justice.

This brings us down to the MacArthur-nationalist proposition, and here the whole future hangs in terrifying doubt.

No great nation—and no spirit of nationalism—can long survive if its elected leaders persist in engaging in wars in which generals are denied scope for practising the art of successful generalship. Other things—national elan, the will to persist—must fail if a war, once entered upon, can't be brought to a conclusion that is sufficiently definite to keep it from breaking out again, under circumstances more favorable to the enemy. Douglas MacArthur felt this, and he tried, in practically every waking moment of his mature life, to bring his conviction, his insight, home to the American people.

If we cannot hold to what Bozell sets forth as the MacArthur-nationalist proposition, then all the other propositions will fail, too. And, incidentally, the chance for a Christian spiritual revival (which is Bozell's chief concern) will be left to men picking among the ruins, or suffering in the slave dungeons, as has happened before in world history.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur meets with Philippine President Sergio Osmena in 1945 after the general's recapture of the islands.

I never saw MacArthur in action, but I was exposed for the better part of two years to his ambiance while helping Gen. Charles Willoughby, his G-2 throughout the Pacific wars, boil down some millions of words of the so-called "MacArthur Histories" and other headquarters papers into a single volume called "MacArthur 1941-1951."

On occasion I saw the "presence" himself. In a group of three he doffed the theatricality which he used as such a consummate instrument when he felt he had an end to gain by it. "Speaking among ourselves," he said, "we don't have to measure our words. But in a crowd one must be a bit of a ham."

He said it humorously, but it was obvious that he thought of himself in the John Barrymore sense, as one who used words as a good general uses force, to reach an objective with the greatest economy of means. In brief, the good ham is the master of the tour de force.

He wasn't being humble in kidding theatricality; he was merely assuring you that he counted on your intelligence to know what he was about without summoning up the aid of rhetoric. It was his way of offering a compliment to a couple of fellow writers; he was saying that we all know the tricks. So why waste words?

The key to MacArthur's generalship, as it was used to support his values of "duty, honor, country," was his intense hatred of any waste, whether of human life, or of wealth, or of effort.

He thought of Korea, as the war finally turned out, in terms of a wasted opportunity, for our failure to cripple Red China militarily at the Yalu, and in the sustaining areas in back of that fateful river, meant that the war for Asia would merely shifts its locus. Thus, when he was told of the Korean truce, he remarked succinctly, "This is the end of Indochina."

It wasn't quite the end; we are still fighting in Indochina. But he would have been horrified at our national refusal to use the power of mobile maneuver in the Southeast Asian area; and if confronted in the end with a Korea-like truce in Indochina he would certainly have said, "This is the end of Thailand." (And so on as the other dominoes fell.)

Wars, of course, can be won by attrition, which is a form of siege, and the Red Chinese may ultimately collapse through a sort of siege-by-indirection if we refuse to back down in South Viet Nam, where, apparently, the new spotting devices and the aerial artillery of the B-52s can keep the Communists from reforming their assault corps for long, even though we grant them sanctuary in Cambodia and Laos. But whether the American people have the stamina to fight a long, drawn-out war of attrition is a question that will depend more and more on the deftest sort of political maneuvering at home.

It could be done if we were to change our recruiting tactics and rely to an increasing degree on a voluntary professional army. But if we continue to use the draft, the turmoil in the universities will spread until our whole political life is poisoned. The young, when they get to Viet Nam, are willing to fight and to endure, but the problem is becoming one of how to get them

(Continued on following page)

For biographical information on Mr. Chamberlain please see page 60.

there without tearing the home front apart.

I don't know how MacArthur would have reacted to our draft troubles, but he would surely have blamed them at least in part on our reversion to the expensive and hatefully inartistic attrition philosophy of World War I. MacArthur performed dutifully in France in 1918, and came out of it with the memory of gas wounds (he refused hospitalization) and a glamorous reputation. But he always regarded it as a stupid war.

To him it was idiotic to throw men away on frontal assaults on barbed wire; he could never erase from his mind the horror of having to relay to his men the orders from above to assail the devastating German machine-gun nests at Nesles, Sergy, Foret de Fere and other places in the chalk hills and forests of northeastern France.

He took away from his World War I experience a resolve never to waste men on hitting strong points directly without mobile tank breakthroughs and proper artillery preparation. And he brought home with him to America a deep prejudice in favor of the flank attack, the Napoleonic envelopment, and the philosophy expressed by one of his favorite ball players, Willie Keeler, who used to "hit 'em where they ain't."

Subsequently, as Chief of Staff in the early '30s, he tried, within the limits of a restricted military budget, to build up the mobile units of the army. If he was slow to grasp the import of air power, it was because his friend Billy Mitchell and the other pioneers of air war tended to think of the plane as a solo performer, capable of winning wars unaided. It was not until the emphasis shifted to the idea of using air as a flying artillery adjunct to a mobile force that MacArthur became an enthusiastic supporter of the plane.

Gen. Willoughby, who is something of a scholar as well as being an able G-2 officer, amused himself during MacArthur's long campaign to retake New Guinea and return to the Philippines by superimposing the battle plans of specific Napoleonic victories on MacArthur's own successive envelopments of stronger Japanese forces.

Thus the Hollandia-Aitape campaign, in which MacArthur, following a plan drawn up by Gen. Bonner Fellers, jumped 500 miles beyond the main Japanese forces, could be illustrated by using a magnified overlay of the double envelopment achieved by Napoleon on the battlefield of Eylau.

This was the MacArthur pattern: control the air and the sea, grapple for your opponent's rear, cut off his supply, and let his isolated main units "die on the vine."

Applied at a later date in the Korean War, the pattern evolved into the Inchon operation, which was successfully undertaken despite Washington's fears that the day for big amphibious movements had passed.

The Navy, of course, helped MacArthur's southern envelopment of the Japanese in 1943-45 by pinning the enemy's navy and air force down in the central Pacific. But MacArthur always took a personal satisfaction in the fact that he lost fewer planes and ships during the whole movement from Australia to Manila than the Navy lost in the single assault on Okinawa. It was owing to MacArthur's personal eloquence that Franklin Roosevelt cancelled Navy plans for a frontal invasion of Taiwan, which would have lost thousands of men on steep, well-defended coasts.

The MacArthur pattern of war has not been followed in Viet Nam and Gen. Thomas Lane has explained what our refusal to use quick striking power in a mobile fashion, without respecting "sanctuaries," has cost us in terms of time and the attrition of men and money. If this is the way we are going to fight in the future, some Communist enemy, somewhere, will assuredly see to it that we are never without a war to bleed us.

So one recurs to Brent Bozell's fear that we have abandoned the "MacArthur-nationalist symbol, or hero figure." It could be that Douglas MacArthur will go down in the history books (as they are written, say, in a few remaining free countries such as Australia) as the last American general to be permitted the art of generalship as it was known to Marlborough, or Napoleon, or Lee and Grant.

If we are not allowed to flank an enemy that is prepared to sacrifice an endless supply of men to pin us down in a limited area, peace will turn into the ignus fatuus, the twinkling marsh light that always recedes just when we think we have it within our grasp.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd: Mr. Economy

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Stephen Decatur said of naval hero James Lawrence: "He always stood with his conscience; his conscience told him his duty and he had no more dodge in him than the mainmast."

The same might well have been said of Virginia's great Harry F. Byrd.

We see on all sides the sorry sight of so many contriving men who worship power, know nothing succeeds like success, and come to believe that the end justifies the means.

With their clever skatings on the periphery of flabby principles, they symbolize a malaise in our representative government: the Equivocal Man; always finding an excuse to be hospitable to this, and not too hostile to that, sliding smoothly just between the sharp edge of clashing principles and always finding a glib, soft, woozy area of compromises.

These include the grey-flannel-suit contrivers, with their basic essentials of wardrobe, pin-money and ghost writers, who manipulate peoples' emotions, beliefs and hopes in their own interest. Harry Byrd was not one of them.

These include the hard-bitten types, too, and, combined, represent those push-button politicians who are really the people who get something for nothing—never the public. They're enormously rewarded for doing the easiest thing in the world. For it is shamefully easy to latch onto moral issues too complex for the public to understand, always in the stance of the giver, the donator, the humanitarian, the man indispensable to you, and you and you. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, they practice the art of the twisted arm and the muzzle. Ears are bitten off. Noses are bloodied. Harry Byrd was not one of them.

They know how to get the most out of the public for themselves by giving the public what it wants without letting the people know they are paying for it. Harry Byrd never did this. Instead, he merely went straight ahead along the useful way he had discovered and created his own life of ever-increasing depth and usefulness in the public service. And the wines of honor went to him—but never to his head.

Byrd was blessed with sound ancestral stock, but he made it to the top through ambition and a tough shrewdness.

His original American ancestor was William Byrd II, who came over from London and settled in Virginia in the 1670s. He left an enormous fortune which was increased by his son, William Byrd III, but the money was rapidly squandered in the third generation.

The eighth generation brought a spectacular revival of fame and wealth to the Byrd family. It produced Tom, Dick and Harry—Thomas Bolling Byrd, who married the widow of Gen. William (Billy) Mitchell; Adm. Richard Evelyn Byrd, first explorer to fly over the North and South Poles, and Harry Flood Byrd.

For biographical information on Mr. Taylor please see page 62.

Harry Byrd, however, won wealth and political success through his own endeavors. He became a school dropout at the age of 14, telling his parents that he was going to run the Winchester (Va.) *Star*. The *Star*, owned by the family, was losing money hand over fist, but teen-age Harry paid off its debts and put it in the black.

Destined for public office, Byrd became a member of the Winchester city council before he was 21, a member of the state senate at 27 and governor of Virginia at 38, the youngest governor of the Old Dominion since Thomas Jefferson.

Appointed to the U.S. Senate in 1933 to fill out an unexpired term, he went on to serve in that body longer than any other Virginian, winning his last election by the largest majority in his entire career. During this time he had also managed to acquire a half-interest in an apple orchard and kept on expanding it until he became the No. 1 individual apple grower in the world.

Byrd's term as governor of Virginia from 1926 to 1930 is still a vivid memory in that state and was praised by liberals and conservatives alike. It was in this position that he tested—successfully—his Jeffersonian principles of the least government possible, the best. It was here, too, that he revealed just what he meant by his call for economy in government.

Byrd undertook a wholesale reorganization of the top-heavy state bureaucracy and won easy legislative approval of reforms that most observers thought impossible.

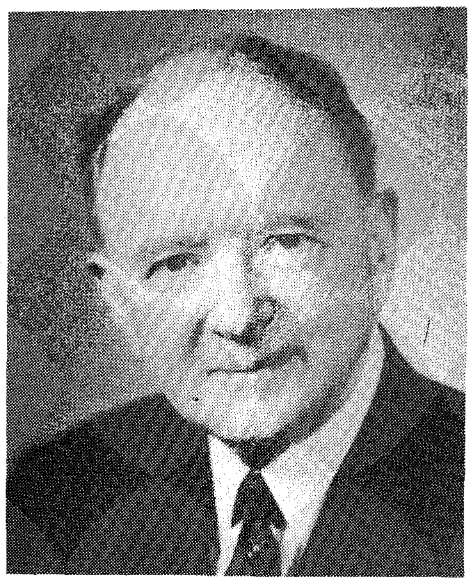
Ninty-five state agencies were regrouped under 12 departments, with 40 agencies going out of existence entirely. There had been 48 separate agencies collecting or disbursing state funds; they were boiled down into one office of a State Treasurer. Byrd instituted an eight-hour day for state employes who had been working seven hours.

Aside from all this, Byrd was instrumental in revising the creaky Virginia Constitution of 1902. One of the changes he worked for was an increase in the number of State Supreme Court justices from five to seven. But Byrd declined to name the new justices.

"I assured the public in my speeches advocating the proposed amendments that their adoption would give me no new appointments during my term," he explained. "I believed that statement when I made it, and I expected the people to believe it when they heard it." Thus Byrd revealed an integrity possessed by few politicians.

By the time Gov. Byrd left office, state taxes had been reduced, the state debt had been lowered by $4 million, a strong anti-lynching law was on the books and the state was on a sound "pay-as-you-go" basis. Yet he had also managed to lure new industry into the state, expand the public roads (not through bonds, but gasoline taxes) and improve the educational institutions.

As the "Unequivocal Man," Byrd retained his beliefs when he went to the U.S. Senate. What was right for Virginia was right for the country.



Byrd of Virginia: His honesty and reputation for economy in government made him one of the most respected senators.

While he strongly supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Democratic platform in 1932, he did not apologize. For the platform then alled for a reduction in federal spending, for a renewwd dedication to states' rights and for economy in government.

The aristocratic Virginian, however, broke with FDR as the watched the President begin a vast spending program and initiate awesome plans to centralize the federal government. Byrd voted against the NIRA, the Guffey Coal Act, the AAA, the Wagner Act. He repeatedly sought a federal reorganization plan and a balanced budget, but he was rebuffed by Roosevelt at every turn.

He was not rebuffed by his fellow senators. In 1941 Byrd helped establish the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, whose scholarly reports brought heavy pressures on both the executive and the Congress to reduce federal spending.

When the Republicans won control of the Senate in 1946, they accorded Democrat Byrd the signal honor of permitting him to remain as the committee's chairman because of his honesty and the excellent job he had done. Indeed, in 1950, when super-spending liberal Hubert Humphrey launched a one-man crusade to eliminate the committee, Byrd's colleagues literally stalked out of the Senate chamber as Humphrey mumbled on.

As chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, Byrd also worked diligently—and successfully on numerous occasions—to prevent the squandering of the public's money.

Throughout his life he believed that the easy dispensing of the taxpayers' money by the federal government was a step toward dictatorship. He was exasperated and alarmed by the calculated expansion of centralized government.

He agreed that some increase in government was indispensable. But from this sentry post this veteran saw that much of the expansion was willful and contrived for personal political purposes.

He was convinced that this was the road to autocratic government and that autocratic government means not a balance of legal rights but a concentration of pure power.

Some sort of protection becomes necessary for everybody. Even the little man with no ax to grind needs help merely to be left alone. The more economic activities the government controls the more people rely on friends and accomplices and the less room there is for the proud citizen who counts on himself. Harry Byrd felt that government should unify, not dominate; it should be a catalyst, not an absorbant. This is by any definition the true liberal concept and he supported it in the fighting way that makes true liberalism's name synonymous with justice.

Yet the professional liberals everlastingly complained about Harry Byrd.

Thomas Jefferson's personal seal appears on the Mace of the University of Virginia. It bears the quotation: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." This favorite quotation of that Virginian is attributed to Benjamin Franklin's adage and is inscribed on the monument of Capt. John Bradshaw, one of the three English judges who tried and sentenced King Charles I.

This is the libertarian sort of stock from which Harry Byrd sprang and in his 50-odd years in public life nobody ever captured his bullet-torn flag or silenced his drums.

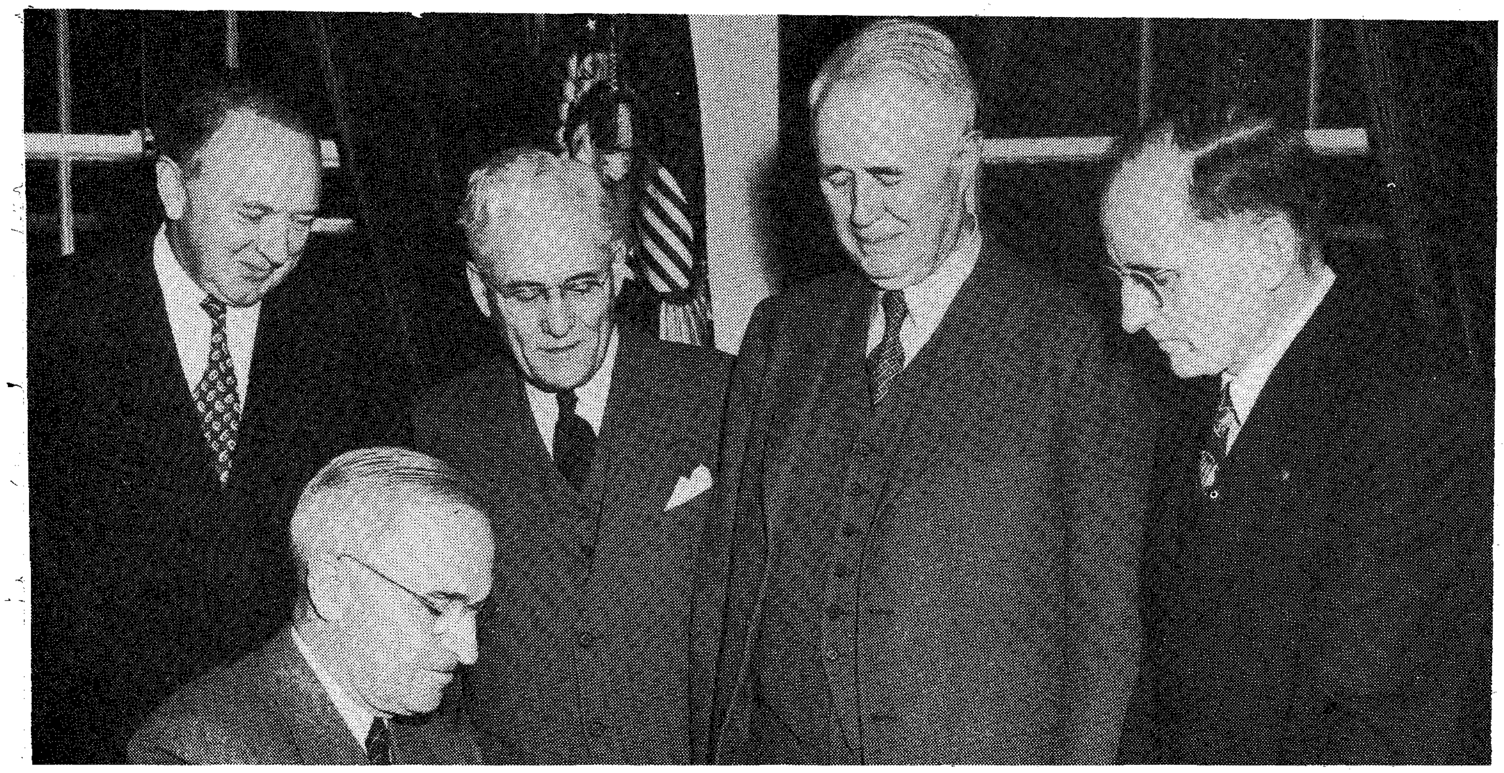
It is very hard to have been forced to say goodbye to a man like that.

But a fellow being and dear friend is not cut entirely out of one piece of cloth. Hardly known to our public, more is the pity, another piece of cloth was woven into Sen. Harry F. Byrd. It was the promptness of his friendly gestures that touched you; that's what you found so immediately appealing about him.

Ready-made phrases and the ritual of rote friendliness were absent, just not in him; his thoughtfulness was totally spontaneous and consisted of the inventions that can come only from a sympathetic heart. It gave to Sen. Harry Byrd a recommendation too often overlooked in the sonorous list of men's virtues: He was kind.

Sir Harry Lauder used to tell of the old Lamp Lighter in his Scotland town. At dusk every day the old man would put a ladder against a light pole and climb up to light the lamp. When he had lighted that one he climbed down his ladder and carried it to the next lamp post. Finally, Sir Harry said, "The old man would be out of sight, but you could always tell which way he went by the lamps he had lighted."

I know of no better picture that could be given of Harry F. Byrd.



Sen. Byrd, at left, was present as President Truman signed the Government Control Act in December 1945. Also attending, from left are Sen. Hugh Butler (R.-Neb.), Rep. William Whittington (D.-Mass.) and Rep. Francis Case (R.-S.D.).

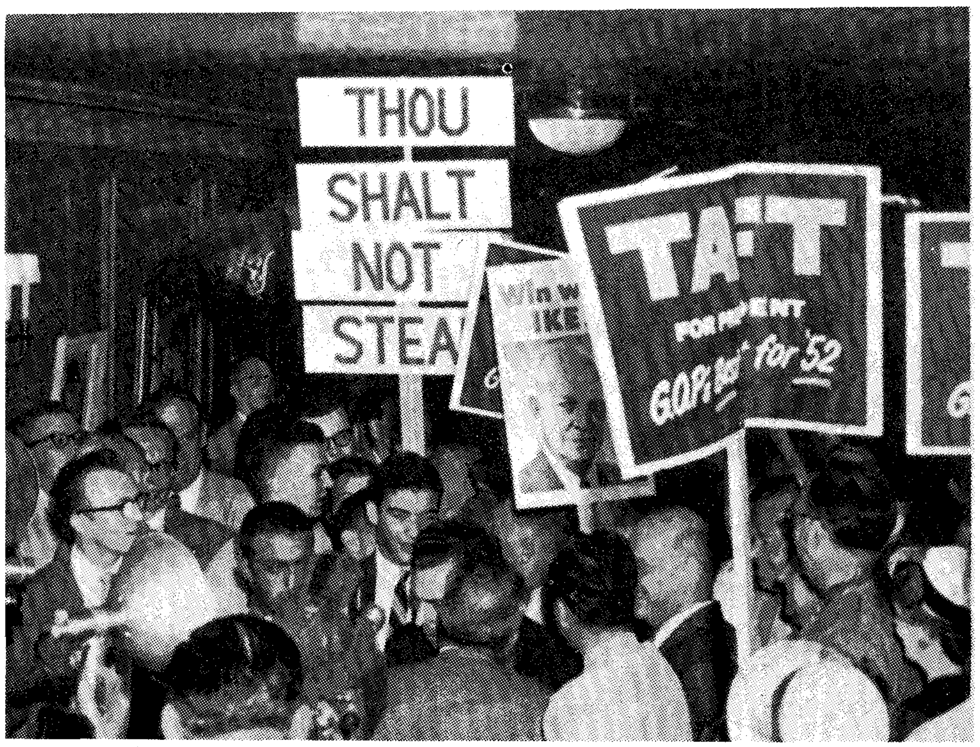
Sen. Robert A. Taft: Mr. Republican

By RUSSELL KIRK

Nearly 16 years have elapsed since the death of Robert Alphonso Taft, one of the most courageous and intelligent political leaders in the history of this Republic and the ablest man in his party since the triumph of Franklin Roosevelt. In some sense, Taft was happy in the hour of his death: Though he had lost the Republican presidential nomination to Gen. Eisenhower and knew he never would be President, still in the early months of the Eisenhower Administration he dominated not merely the Senate, but the White House itself.

After two decades in the political wilderness, the Republican party had regained command of both the executive and legislative branches of the national government. A "liberal conservative," as Sen. Taft called himself, enjoyed the prospect of redressing the balance of American policy, foreign and domestic.

Great things might have been accomplished, but at that moment, in 1953, Robert Taft died long before what might have been his appointed time. Thereafter, the Eisenhower Administration vacillated, saved from disasters only by the great military strength and prosperity of the nation during those years, and saw its congressional majorities steadily decimated. There succeeded, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, an unimaginative latter-day liberalism from whose blunders the United States may never wholly recover, abroad or at home.



This was the scene at the 1952 GOP convention in Chicago when Taft delegates protested against the seating of contested Southern delegations.

Now suppose, as a small speculative exercise, that Robert Taft had not died of cancer in 1953. He was physically and intellectually powerful; it might have been expected that he would continue in the Senate even to the present day, as have some of his colleagues; he and Eisenhower were about the same age.

For biographical information on Mr. Kirk please see page 61.

Taft had crossed swords many times with President Truman in the political battles of the postwar days.

Had Taft lived, the present situation of the United States might be very different indeed.

In terms of party, the shrewd intellect and high repute of Robert Taft probably could have averted the loss of the Eisenhower Administration's early majorities in Congress, both through the guidance which he would have given to that Administration's policies and through his effective assistance to Republican candidates.

Although presumably Taft would not have stood for the presidential nomination in 1960, his power as a party leader might well have sufficed to elect Nixon or any other Republican candidate in that year, the Kennedy-Nixon contest being so close. Thus there would have been no Kennedy and Johnson years, with their Iliad of woes.

Had he lived, Sen. Taft could well have been destined for an even greater impact on American history.

In foreign policy, Robert Taft—as head of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee—almost surely could have prevented a series of serious miscalculations. He would not have backed the Eisenhower intervention against Britain, France, and Israel during the Suez crisis (Taft being a consistent friend to Israel, and acutely aware of Soviet machinations in the Levant); so Nasser would have fallen then, and the present peril of general war in the Near East might not exist.

As for the simultaneous Hungarian rising, Taft might have been able to persuade the Eisenhower Administration, instead, to lead a united opposition of the United States, Britain and France to the Russian repression of Hungary; all of Eastern Europe might be relatively free today, in consequence. (The Russians at that moment, extremely uneasy, could have been induced to make large concessions; instead, Eisenhower sent Henry Cabot Lodge to Vienna.)

To Asian policy, Taft gave primacy in his late senatorial committee chairmanship and in his final campaign for the Republican nomination. Though he was resolved to prevent Communist imperialism in Southeastern Asia, he warned the United States repeatedly against involving a great conscript army on the Asiatic continent.

As he had spoken against President Truman's intervention in Korea without the assent of Congress, so Taft doubtless would have opposed putting half a million men into Viet Nam, whether that attempt had been made by a Republican or a Democratic administration.

He would have used other means to deter Russia and China from assisting Ho Chi Minh and the other Communists of Southeastern Asia—particu-

(Continued on following page)

larly the threat of unleashing the Nationalist Chinese, and of American airpower. Had it been found necessary to send American troops, he would have worked for an efficient (and much smaller) professional expeditionary force, what with his opposition to universal military training and (except in extreme necessity) to conscription generally—a view to which most people in the Pentagon and the State Department now have come round, very tardily.

Through his influence, American policy in the Asian countries would have been far more resolute and consistent and the present dismal dilemma very conceivably would not have come to pass.

Could Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) be a political heir to Taft? Author Kirk thinks possibly so.

In domestic policy, Taft anticipated many of the pressures that arose during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and was himself a pioneer in social improvement. Had his strong influence continued for another decade, measures could have been taken—along the lines of legislation that he already had succeeded in enacting—that would have averted the dreary "War on Poverty," the costly and collectivistic Medicare and Medicaid programs, and other ill-advised and ineffectual national undertakings, including the character of the Johnsonian "aid to education" schemes.

Deeply concerned for the one-fifth of the American people whom he found in economic and social difficulties, Taft would have advocated far more prudent and practical means toward relieving their distresses. He would have emphasized —as the Nixon Administration now promises to do—local and voluntary charitable endeavors; assistance from the federal treasury would have been like seed-corn, rather than indiscriminate largess.

He knew more about measures for public health and educational improvement than did any other political leader. Surely he would have opposed—though he was a leading advocate of certain forms of public housing—the creation of urban deserts through "urban renewal," with all the mischief to urban life of which we are now the victims.

Long before Daniel Moynihan and Richard Goodwin, Taft perceived that the great cities of America cannot be governed from Washington—nor the 50 states, either. He would have stood like a rock against thoughtless political centralization.

Where the conundrum of racial hostility is concerned, Taft always was popular with Negro leaders, and yet generally on good terms with Southern politicians and advocates of strict construction of the Constitution. By conciliation, able leadership and thoughtful proposals, he might have diminished mightily the drift toward extreme views and measures.

As a man of law and constitution, Taft would have set his face against encroachment upon congressional authority and upon state and local powers by the federal judiciary. Had he lived, some of Eisenhower's appointments to the Supreme Court might have been wiser. Conceivably Taft himself might have sat upon that bench, like his father before him; and Earl Warren would have met his match.

So much for historical accidents. "The saddest words of tongue or pen . . . ." It might have been, indeed; but instead we confront our present discontents.

Instead, we experienced the brief senatorial leadership and sudden political annihilation of Sen. Knowland; the equivocal ascendancy of Sen. Dirksen; the Republican ambiguities and hesitations which led first to the attrition and then to the splitting of Republican strength, and to the succession of Kennedy and Johnson. The intellect and the integrity of Taft, united in one man, were nowhere to be found.

Perhaps Robert Taft will have political heirs, after all. Sen. Robert Griffin of Michigan, for instance, displays much of the courage and industry that were Taft's. But meanwhile, damage has been done that no genius can altogether undo.

It is a melancholy commentary on American political society that the loss of a single leader of party could be so catastrophic.

Taft's largest permanent achievement was the Taft-Hartley Act, of course; and it is likely to endure, and perhaps to be strengthened. But still more important was Taft's successful opposition to corrupting political slogans and injurious measures in an age of ideology.

"Conservatism is the negation of ideology," says a radical scholar, Dr. H. Stuart Hughes. Very true that is; and Robert Taft, unmoved by the infatuation of the times, opposed to the dogmas of ideology and vital principles that he derived from close knowledge of the American political experience. What he defeated or modified mattered more than what he created. For probity and determination, there exists no better exemplar in the history of American politics.

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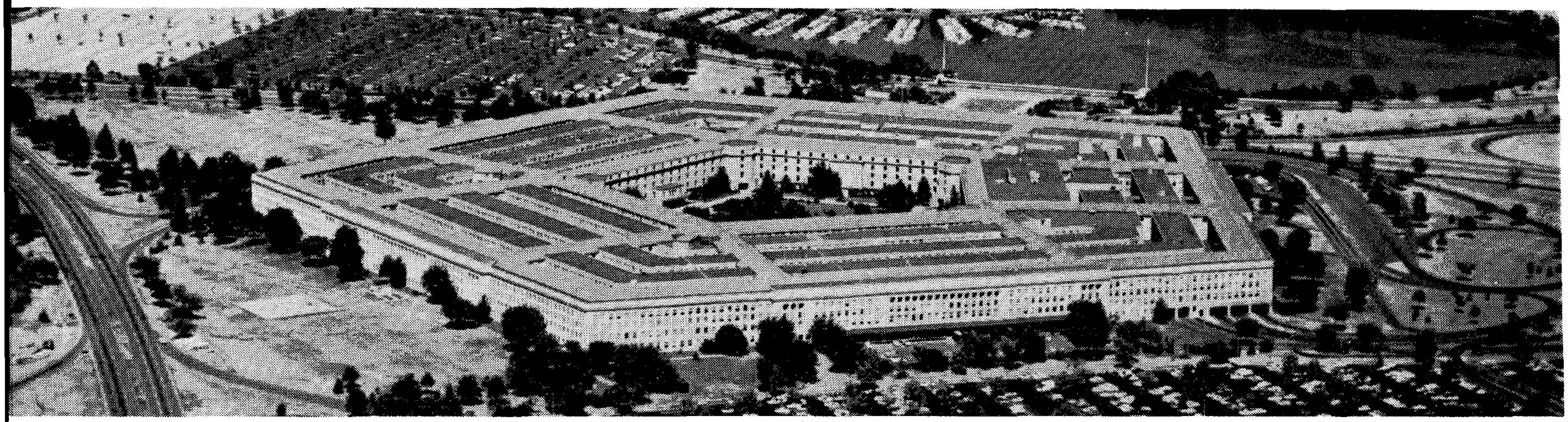


Sunrise at the Pentagon

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

With a bitter and seemingly interminable war in progress, the American people look to the Defense Department for answers. They know that the President makes the decisions, but they feel that the answers to our war problems must come from our military leaders. What action can they expect from the new defense team?

The ship of state has only one captain and his name is Richard Nixon. He has picked the port and charted the course. That is where the Defense Department is going.

Nevertheless, great responsibility devolves upon the department leadership. The Laird team must manage the war and it must counsel the President about matters which will affect his decisions. Its performance may well be critical to Administration success.

Moreover, President Nixon has commanded a defense contribution to policy-making. In restoring the National Security Council, he has given the Defense Department a formal opportunity to speak up forcefully before decisions are made.

Secretary Laird must use this forum; but he must not depend on it alone. A President's views are formed not only in a weekly staff conference but in the totality of his associations. If Secretary Laird is going to influence policy, he must be in close daily communion with the President. This is his first and greatest responsibility.

The most public and least important part of the defense task is its business management. Congress and the press have had an unwarranted obsession about departmental administration and have failed generally to give due attention to the important issues of policy. The business of the department is defense, not business.

The department is famed for its mammoth budget and bad management. It is a sprawling enterprise, far transcending in size our biggest corporations. David Packard has moved from a $0.3-billion business to an $80.6-billion business. That is the kind of leap businessmen take when they come to the Defense Department.

The efficiency of departmental operations is maintained by its career personnel. The function of the secretariat in all departments is to provide political control of administration. In Defense more than in other Cabinet posts, this function of political appointees has been obscured by notions about business efficiency.

This is why the appointment of former Congressman Melvin R. Laird to head the Defense Department is so felicitous. President Nixon has recognized the true character of the Cabinet office. Secretary Laird can hire all the efficiency experts he needs. In David Packard, he has a deputy intimately informed of the potential and practices of American industry.

What will Messrs. Laird and Packard do about the military-industrial complex? They *are* the military-industrial complex! In his now famous warning to the Congress, President Eisenhower referred not to the military professionals, but to the common interest of industry and Congress in expanding military production. There lay the danger. Melvin Laird comes from the Congress and David Packard comes from industry, but they are both men of such probity that the national interest will be well served.

Viet Nam obviously is the major current concern at the Pentagon. The death toll of American GIs there has now surpassed that of Korea; a third of these Americans were killed since the start of the Paris peace talks.

Good business management is not easily assessed. The record of contracting invariably yields a harvest of blunders to regale the press. Thus, in the late '50s, when the Titan and Minuteman programs were moving without scandal, Congress revelled in exposure of the different costs of Army, Navy and Air Force procurement of the same item. This was a kind of management by trivia.

Secretary McNamara eliminated the congressional worries by centralizing procurement. The human error continued, and it was now more far-reaching in its effect. But Congress didn't know because it had no basis for comparison.

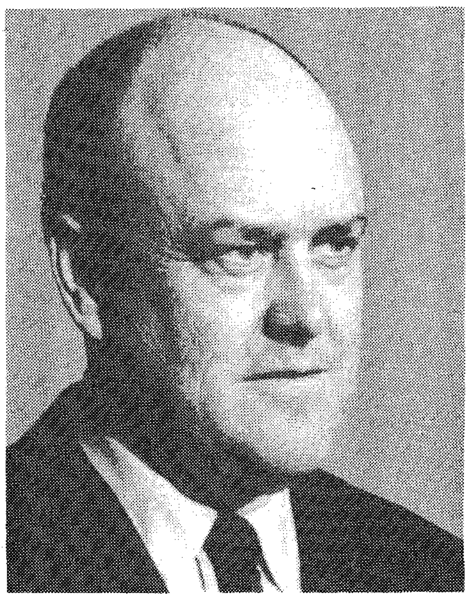
Secretary McNamara did more. He compromised the objective standards of defense contracting which the services had built through long years of experience and introduced political advantage as the new determinant. Now instead of worrying about the price of belt buckles, Congress has on its hands such gigantic blunders as the TFX planes and a conventional-powered carrier.

The experience showed how bad management can be obscured by a rose-scented fog of propaganda about modern efficiency. Nothing like this ever happened in the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. Earlier secretaries had been men of wisdom and experience who could not have been caught in such imprudent decisions.

There are many factors contributing to bad decisions, but personal qualifications of the decision makers are most important. If there is an organizational key to the McNamara mistakes, it doubtless lay in the secretary's irrational commitment to systems analysis.

As Dr. William A. Niskanen of the Institute for Defense Analysis recently pointed out in the *Armed Forces Journal*, Secretary McNamara depended upon the military judgment of his young computer specialists who lacked the experience and knowledge to provide good judgment. Secretary Laird must assign the judgment factor to his experienced military leaders and restrict his young specialists to their proper field of systems analysis.

Business management is the least of defense problems. The great challenge lies in the organization and use of U.S. military power. In this vital area, the Administration has not shown its hand. It is standing by the Sentinel program but other critical problems are still under study. We can only speculate on new directions of defense policy.



Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has already met many grave military problems head on and author Lane hopes he will continue doing so.

The new team at Defense is a practical, sensible ensemble. We can expect common sense and good judgment in administration. There will be more practical, less doctrinaire, examination of the issues. The long night of ideological preconceptions about peace may be waning.

The best defense management—the prudent use of our power to preserve peace—may go unnoticed and unsung. Its fruit is a country at peace, low military budgets and freedom from fear.

But when the country is at war as a consequence of bad defense management, the causes are carefully hidden from public view. Propaganda for peace covers all the errors.

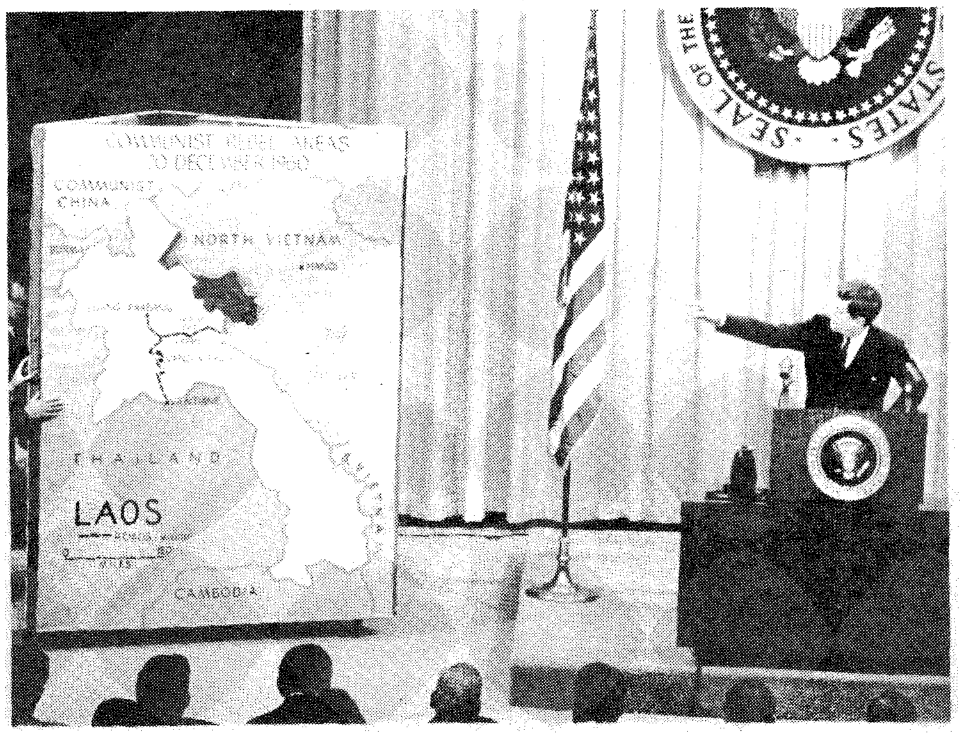
As we look at the security problems of the Nixon Administration, we see that they are the very problems which confronted President Kennedy in 1961. Most of them have worsened in the interim. We have reached that stage of decline in which our leaders no longer expect to resolve difficulties. They strive only to hide the gathering storm from their own people.

Germany is still divided, 24 years after the end of World War II. Berlin, once unified, is now divided. France is still excluded from the nuclear cooperation which our law allows. NATO is diminished. Stalinism is resurgent in the Soviet Union. The Arab-Israeli war is bigger than ever. Castro is still there. Guerrilla war persists in Latin America. Our casualties mount in Viet Nam while we continue futile negotiations in Paris. Our missile lead has been dissipated.

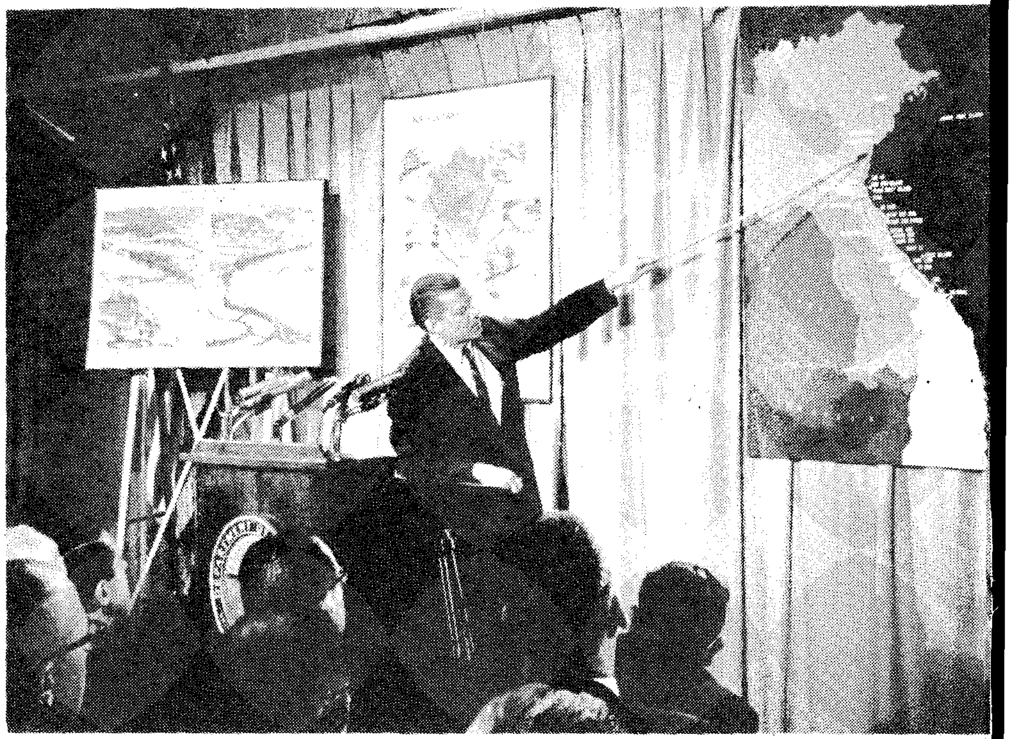
Did I hear President Nixon say that this is no time for quick solutions? Ye gods! That is what Lyndon Johnson was saying five years ago. It is time we found a leader who can use the

(*Continued on following page*)

For biographical information on Gen. Lane, please see page 61.



Back in 1961, President Kennedy pointed out the Red infiltration of Laos to newsmen; since then the war has steadily grown in scope. In 1962, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara reported the first major bombing raids against North Viet Nam.



Just recently, despite the bombing halt, U.S. field commanders sought permission to strike Cambodian bases from which North Vietnamese regulars are launching their severe attacks.

power of the free world to deter the arrogant aggression of Soviet satellites. Perhaps Melvin Laird can do it. The problem is not physical; it is entirely psychological. We must shake the paralysis which Soviet strategy has imposed on our minds.

Are we the world's policeman? Can satellite aggression draw us into new conflicts and waste our strength in other parts of the world? But if we don't respond, do we sacrifice the free world to piecemeal conquest? The Johnson Administration never produced a rational answer to the dilemma because it never comprehended the military element.

Can Secretary Laird resolve the issue? It is peculiarly his. If he defers to the State Department, he will fail the nation.

How do we meet the "war of liberation" which Soviet leaders proclaim to be part of their strategy? In Viet Nam we are making enormous sacrifices of men and wealth without stopping the aggression. Surely this is the *wrong* answer. But what is the right answer? Does Melvin Laird know?

It is reported that when the Pacific Fleet commander planned to take the *Pueblo* out of Wonsan Harbor, President Johnson vetoed the action with some expression of his refusal to start a war. The story is one of many illustrating the utterly naive ideas about war which have dominated our national policy.

Who has been filling the presidential minds with such tragic misconceptions? Why didn't someone tell the President that we could take the *Pueblo* back with a show of force, without resistance from North Korea or from Red China or from the Soviet Union? That is what the fleet commander planned.

Does Melvin Laird realize that he must make better appraisals of national strategy for President Nixon? This is an area in which the State Department is utterly incompetent. This is war, and we are in it, and Secretary Laird must make the President conscious of that reality.

It is more than coincidence that the decline of our world stature dates from the organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1947. Since that time our Presidents have embraced weak and debilitating military policies with the apparent blessing of our military leaders.

The Berlin Blockade inaugurated a policy of retreat which has become the hallmark of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There are inherent defects in the organization which incline it to expedient compromise and which undermine the command responsibility of the commander-in-chief.

The war in Viet Nam is the culminating and damning failure of the Joint Chiefs of Staff organization. The war is the direct consequence of the failure of the Joint Chiefs to advise the President prudently about military factors affecting national policies.

When in 1962, President Kennedy vetoed President Diem's plan to smash the North Vietnamese bases and forces in Laos, the die was cast for all that followed. Gen. Maxwell Taylor's judgment that the attack on South Viet Nam could be contained while allowing sanctuary to the enemy in Laos was one of the costliest mistakes in military history. He should have told President Kennedy frankly that the defense of South Viet Nam would be impossible under these circumstances.

Instead of putting this reality boldly to the President, Gen. Taylor and his successor and protege, Gen. Wheeler, have asked for a continual build-up of U.S. forces. Their forecasts for success and repeated failures have undermined presidential confidence in our military leaders—properly so.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been so infiltrated with political influence as to deform their primary military function.

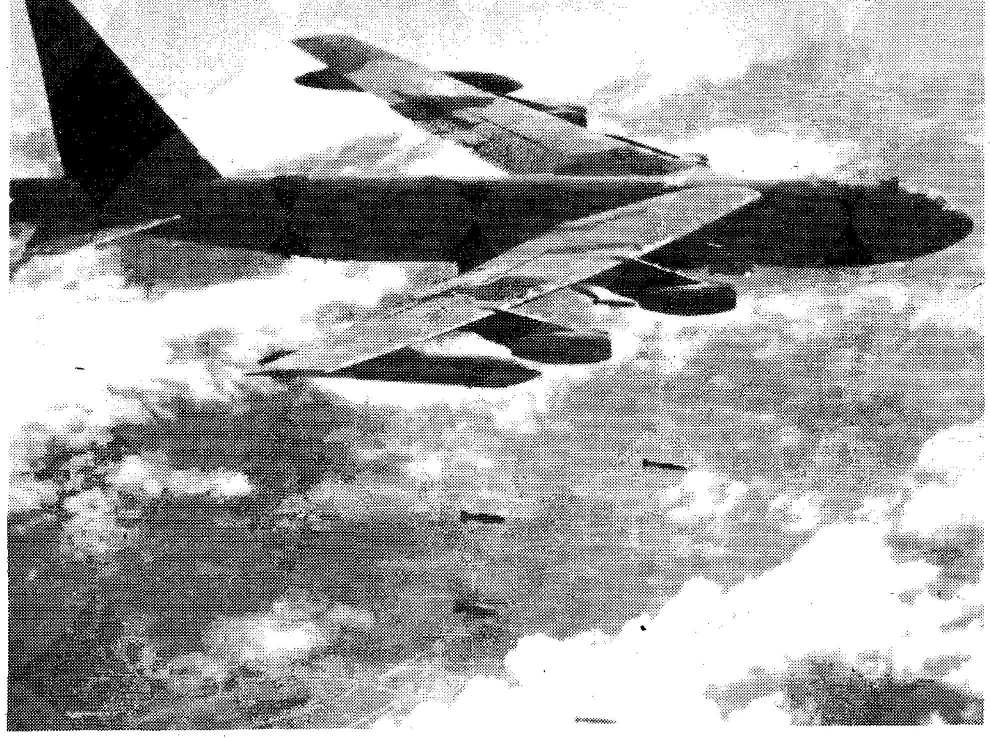
In seeking to comprehend and accommodate the political objectives of the incumbent Administration, they have confounded the only counsel they are competent to give. What this country needs in its military leadership is some hard-nosed bastards who will tell the truth about war to the President, to the Congress and to the people.

They should let the politicians handle the political factors but be perfectly blunt about the military realities. They must stop telling the Senate that the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty does not operate to the disadvantage of the United States and its allies when such statements are obviously untrue militarily and can be rationalized only through the evaluation of political factors.

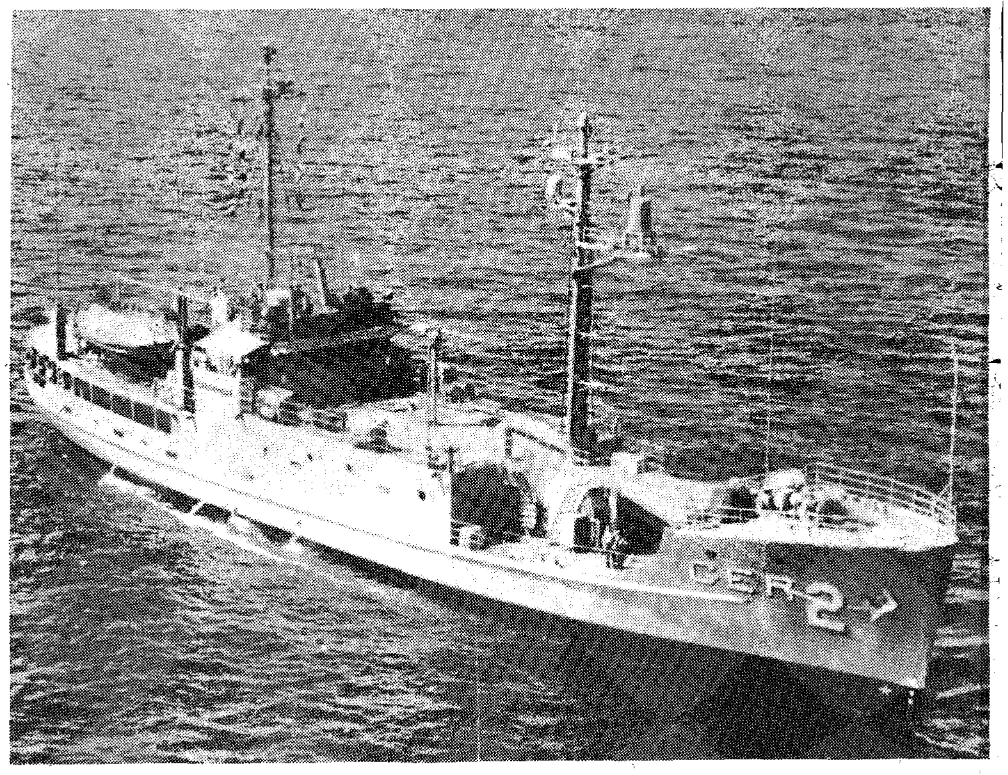
Can Secretary Laird get this kind of advice from the Joint Chiefs or are they so addled by their new political roles as to be incapable of prudent military action? The secretary would do well to broaden his military consultation and reorganize his armed forces command structure.

It's a tough racket. Can Melvin Laird do the job? Can a congressman break away from years of careful tuning to public opinion and make objective judgments of national security requirements? War in all its aspects is so foreign to the ordinary experience of domestic politics as to be beyond the comprehension of ordinary politicians. But Melvin Laird is no ordinary politician. He has the probing intelligence, the discriminating judgment and the experience which the task requires.

The secretary has a powerful array of appeasement-minded forces ranged against him. But Melvin Laird is a formidable warrior. He will stop the Communist aggression and restore peace to the world—if the Nixon course does not preclude victory.



The strategic bomber, downgraded by the JFK-LBJ Administrations, is expected to make a comeback under Nixon as plans for a new manned bomber have been approved. Above, a B-52 hits Viet Cong strongholds in the jungle.



Hopefully there will be no more Pueblo incidents under the Nixon Administration. It seems to have escaped the two previous Administrations that it is possible to preserve our national honor without starting World War III.

A Dip Into the Future

Mr. Busing Comes to Washington

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I fear I've been had by a fast talker. But that door-to-door salesman who sold me the new-fangled computer which, he promised, would cut my work in half, was very convincing. All I had to do was feed the facts into it and out would come a completely objective evaluation which I could easily turn into a column.

And he had this demonstration model which, he swore, had gone only 300 miles but which he offered at used computer prices, 'way below the Blue Book. In addition, he would throw in a year's warranty of service.

He showed me how to work it and I must say the trial run was fine. I fed the gadget a host of unrelated figures, such as my granddaughter's birthday, the size of my wife's shoes, the value of the English pound, Willie Mays' batting average and whatnot. The machine whizzed and whirred, flashed lights on and off, and then came up with figures precise to the decimal point.

But now I wish I'd waited before enthusiastically making out my check.

There's something screwy about the machine, and I suspect it's been fixed, like a crooked roulette wheel, in favor of the house—the salesman's house, not mine. And the card he left turns out to be just as much a fake. There's no such address, and when I dial the phone number I get a recording that says, "Hi, sucker!"

I didn't know that, natch, when I sat down the next morning to feed the computer some items I'd clipped from the paper: such as a speech by Justice Douglas praising campus rioters, some pronouncements by Dr. Marcuse of UC at San Diego, an interview with a Third Worlder, and an ad in the underground press. And for balance, I tossed in a paragraph from *Human Events* pointing out the defects of James E. Allen, the new commissioner of education, and asked what the latter selection boded for the Republic.

The computer whizzed and whirred, flashed on and off, spat out the *Human Events* bit and came up with an editorial it said would have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* if that magazine hadn't folded. To be fair, it read like the *SEP* of recent years, too:

"It is no surprise to our intellectual elite that Dr. James E. Allen (Mr. Busing) was called to Washington to become assistant secretary of HEWB (health, education, welfare and busing) as well as U.S. commissar (formerly commissioner) of education.

"No man is more in tune with the times. In 14 years as czar of New York's primary and secondary school system, he demolished the myth that the neighborhood schoolhouse is a fit place for learning. Dedicated to the axiom that travel is broadening, he stressed the necessity of compulsory busing in turning out a well-rounded and integrated child. He has never hesitated to defy school boards and even close down schools that suffered from what he defined as 'racial imbalance.'

"In Mount Vernon alone he has succeeded in busing half of the city's 6,000 elementary pupils; and, beyond doubt, the current generation of Empire State youngsters is the most bused in the land. It may be argued they are not as proficient in the Three R's as their elders were, but that is like saying there are few village blacksmiths today. Our national needs are far different now than in the horse-and-buggy era.

"It may interest our readers that Dr. Allen was born on a bus, which undoubtedly influenced him greatly. His parents, aware the blessed event was near, might well have gone to the neighborhood hospital around the corner. But they didn't like their neighborhood, so instead took a crosstown bus to another they fancied more.

"Unfortunately, there was a traffic delay and, as a result, James was born on the bus with the aid of a midwife who providentially happened to be aboard. The bus conductor was obliged, of course, to ask for another fare for the new passenger, but the proud parents were only too glad to pay. (Incidentally, that very bus is now in the Smithsonian Institution, and millions visit it annually.)

"In celebration, young Jim was taken for a bus ride every birthday thereafter, and so grew inured to the peculiar fumes of the conveyance, sniffing at them eagerly—indeed, one might almost say he was an addict. And, instead of compiling picture card sets of ballplayers and boxers, like his mates, he went in for used bus transfers and now has a collection worth a small fortune. It was indeed a hobby that paid off.

"At college, he was voted 'the lad most likely to go far,' a prophecy that has come startlingly true. It is estimated he traveled some 14,000,000 miles on New York buses alone, while figuring out some desirable but complicated school routes.

"Busing for busing's sake" seems to be the motto of President Nixon's new commissioner of education. Controversial busing plans have upset many parents throughout the country.

"He leaves New York at a time when, except for some isolated areas like Bedford-Stuyvesant, ethnic and religious relations are almost ideal. Indeed it is fair to say they are better than those that exist between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, or even the good-fellowship between Nigeria and Biafra. And no small part of this can be traced to the compulsory busing the commissar has forced over the protests of ignorant parents who preferred nearby schools.

"We are convinced that, in his new post, he will accomplish for the nation what he did in New York. Juvenile delinquency is obviously cut down when you get the kids off the streets by busing them an hour each way. And there is nothing more heart-warming than a group of youngsters yelling together on a bus.

"The fraternization will make them better college material than their under privileged mates who go to the neighborhood school. As Santayana—or was it Eldridge Cleaver?—put it, 'The kiddies that bus together will riot and cuss together.' Happy landing, Commissar!"

That tore it—and I could see Ben Franklin, who founded the *SEP*, whirling around in his grave. I called the bank and tried to stop the check but, of course, it had already been cashed. I went for a hammer—at that point I was so mad I'd have used even a hammer and sickle—to smash the contraption. But my wife, who believes in giving a sinner another chance, pleaded, "Don't be hasty. Try it once more."

So I took a tranquilizer—and two martinis—and sat down before the gadget as though all were still okay between us. I fed it some liberal tidbits about education from *Look* magazine and an editorial from *Ramparts*, and it whizzed its thanks. "Can you tell the future, too?" I asked. It nodded and wagged its tail—that's how it looked, anyhow.

And out came this:

Cicero, Ill. March 4, 1971 (AP)—Commissar J. E. Allen will receive the honorary degree of M.B. (Master of Busing) at the exercises commemorating the successful first year of the Experimental College he established here.

The land (seized by eminent domain) and buildings cost only $30 billion—cut by Congress from his original request of $300 billion—but the ordinary layman wouldn't know the difference, so modern is the architecture.

But what makes this college the hope of the future is not its decor, but the fact that the 35,000 students enrolled here are under a perfect quota system. The various ethnic groups are proportioned precisely, percentagewise, to accord with the last census.

Thus, there are 11.5 per cent blacks, 3.1 per cent Mexican-Americans, and so on. Catholics and Jews, being minorities, are similarly quotaed; but Protestants, in order to forestall a possible Wasp takeover, are subdivided into their various sects. It seems the Nixon Cabinet contains more Presbyterians (by 2 percentage points) than Dr. Allen deemed proper, and this mistake has been carefully avoided here.

Second only to that rule is the provision that each student and teacher must reside far enough away from campus to require the use of the collegiate buses. Five miles is the absolute minimum.

Dr. James Allen served as commissioner of education in New York City before coming to Washington.

Classes are taught in the native tongue of the individual student, no matter how many generations back or whether the pupil ever spoke the language. Swahili and Spanish are the official college languages, but there are courses in all the European tongues, and even a smattering of English and other dead languages. Arithmetic, of course, is taught via the abacus or, as in the case of the lone Eskimo, on fingers and toes.

Inevitably, what with violet, indigo, black, brown, red, green and orange studies, American history has been edited to make each group aware of its cultural heritage. Washington remains the hero of the Revolution to Wasps, but takes second place to Crispus Attucks in black studies, to Lafayette in French classes, and to Haym Solomon in Jewish courses.

And, introduced by Dr. Allen, it is now taught that when Washington crossed the Delaware, he did so on a bus. This was a correction long overdue and gained Dr. Allen the Nobel Prize in fiction—as well as a special award from the Greyhound Bus Co.

The experiment is being watched avidly by the entire educational fraternity, for, as Father Groppi (who teaches Demonstrations here) has so well said, "If you can bus them to Cicero, you can bus them anywhere." Even now, other universities are frantically outbidding each other for the services of the students when they graduate. Technically, the youngsters lose their amateur standing in signing up before their senior year, but this rule has been suspended.

Further—

★ ★ ★

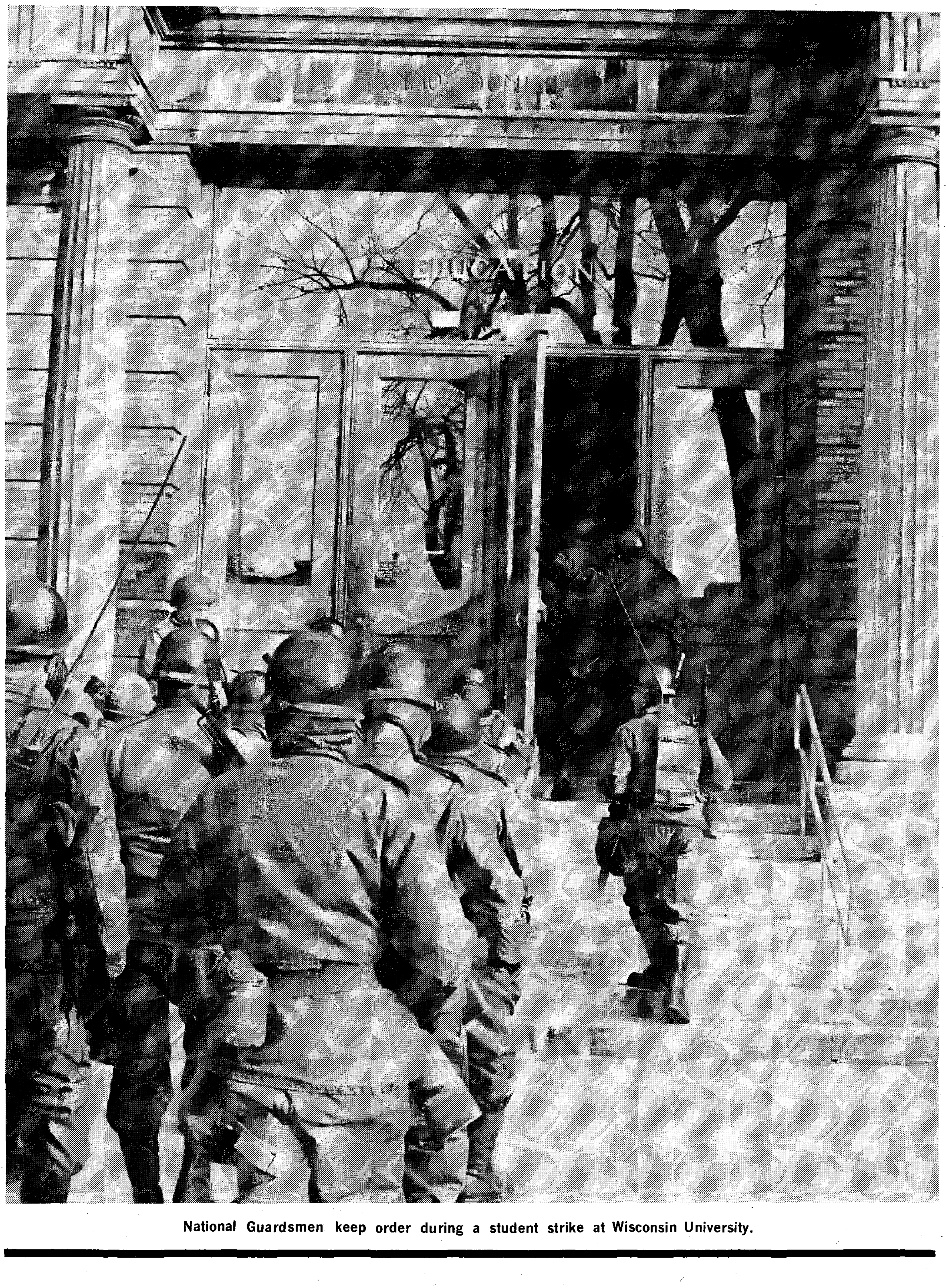
But at this point, it was my wife who seized the hammer and wielded it with such reckless abandon that the machine crumbled into atoms. She may not weigh 100 pounds, but, boy, can she swing!

Well, anyway, now at least we know where we're going—all the way with JEA.

For biographical information on Mr. Ryskind, please see page 62.

California's Gov. Ronald Reagan (second from left) announced a state of "extreme emergency" at the embattled Berkeley campus. With Reagan from left are: Legal Affairs Secretary Ed Meese, Alameda County Sheriff Frank Madigan and Highway Patrol Commissioner H. W. Sullivan.

SDSers at Chicago tell it like they think it should be. Sen. Go said it well two weeks ago, referring to SDS members: "So only goal is to goose-step across the smoldering ashes of an holding the bloody scalp of capitalism in one hand and in the other."



National Guardsmen keep order during a student strike at Wisconsin University.

Despite Media

All Is

Campus watching has become a national pastime in the past year. Across the nation people in all walks of life and age brackets are discussing the plight of the university system with the "expertise" always found in complicated political and social issues.

The issue of the left-wing revolt on our campuses and in our high schools would appear to have polarized our populace into those who contend that all students are trying to overthrow our society and those who are content to laud the student radicals because they hate our society. Fortunately, neither of these simplistic concepts tells the whole story of what is happening on our campuses.

At the outset, allow me to state that I am often a pessimist when it comes to the situation on the campuses. At this juncture, I spend almost all of my time on the campuses and I see any number of overt signs of continuing and possibly worsening violence.

The recent violence at San Francisco State and Berkeley are obvious attempts by the New Leftists to create a revolutionary atmosphere that might be exportable to other universities across the nation. As in previous years the state of California is being used by the left wing as a testing ground for tactics that can then be implemented at other schools.

The fact that overt violence and force have now been utilized by the New Leftists at such schools as Duke and the University of Wisconsin makes it certain that we have hardly seen an immediate end to the rabble-rousing techniques of the campus revolutionaries. If, however, we are to create an effective understanding and counteroffensive to the New Left nihilists it is vital that we understand the tactical and practical aspects of the current drive for violence on the campuses.

We must also constantly keep a parallel thought in our minds: The New Left does not speak for the vast majority of students and the violent approach to politics as espoused by the New Leftists is a distinct anathema to most students.

Only if we understand these two dis-

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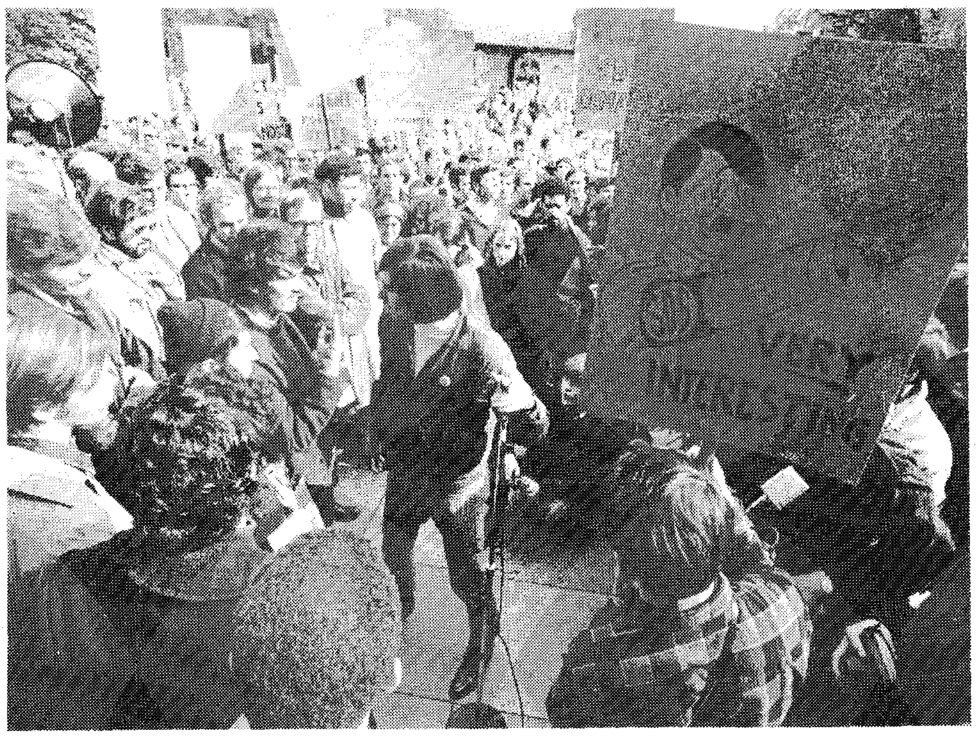
Fixed bayonets on an American college campus? It happened at the University of Wisconsin last fall as militants disrupted the area.



Harvey Hukari, holding the microphone, answers SDS taunts at an anti-leftist rally at Stanford University. Mr. Hukari is a former Human Events summer intern who has spearheaded much of the resurgent conservatism on his campus.

'ortions

Not Lost on Our College Campuses

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

tinct concepts can we effectively begin to comprehend exactly the state of affairs on our campuses nationwide. One San Francisco State (or even 10 such campuses) does not speak for the nation's students as a whole. The obvious truth of this statement is often overlooked by many people who have come to believe the jaundiced news reporting of the mass media. It is difficult to gain a clear perspective of the campus scene after watching the national television newscasts and newspaper and magazine accounts that only dwell on violence and destruction.

As if acting out a self-fulfilling prophecy, the mass media have created the illusion that the only thing the American people are interested in hearing about is violence. Now, that very same mass media argue that the American public is only interested in violence and that they therefore have a duty to report only the campus violence. Of course, the only people that suffer are the people forced to depend upon the controlled-news media for their news coverage.

The fact that day in and day out we are deluged with pictures and stories from San Francisco State, Berkeley, Wisconsin, etc., would lead anyone to believe that our campuses nationwide are totally under the revolutionary influence of the New Leftists. If a visitor from outer space arrived seeking general knowledge about our higher educational system, the shock of viewing the violence as portrayed by our mass media might easily convince him that the nation was politically finished.

Everywhere you look, from television to the slick magazines, the New Left is portrayed as the only significant portion of our student population. From *Esquire* to *Fortune* and from "Laugh-In" to "Meet the Press" the public is bombarded with the erroneous supposition that the New Leftists are in control of our campuses.

Even a number of conservative sources are prone to play up the destructive and anarchistic aspects of the revolutionaries without countering this information with the fact that the New Left has suffered a number of recent setbacks and that the New Left is often engaged in more of a public relations war than in a serious revolutionary endeavor.

Don't misunderstand me: I am not contending that the New Left does not pose a realistic threat. Instead, what I am contending is that the mass media are often directly responsible for overplaying the strength and actual potential of the New Left.

This propensity on the part of most of our media to overplay the New Left does little to inform the general population about the serious revolutionary implications of most of the New Leftists and instead creates a general impression that either "all is lost" or that "the campus leftists are really just a bunch of politically aware youngsters that older people can't understand."

Both impressions are absurd, but the purpose of the politically liberal-oriented media is not to provide political balance. The mass media are more interested in creating stereotypes of news than in providing the general populace with any knowledge of events.

As an example, during this school year there has been violence at some university campuses. At San Francisco State, Berkeley, Wisconsin and Duke the issues were most often reported as relating to "obvious" racial conditions on the individual campuses. The media were quick, in most cases, to create the stereotyped illusion that the students involved were only interested in some specific issue like a "black studies program."

Without discussing the specific political aspects of something like a "black studies program," it is noteworthy that at none of the schools previously listed was this the real issue being provoked by the New Leftists. In each list of demands issued by the local revolutionaries on these campuses was a "hooker" that could not possibly be met by any rational college administration.

At San Francisco State the "hooker" dealt with the re-hiring of a Black Panther who had called on black students to carry guns on campus and has since had his parole revoked because he was arrested while carrying two pistols. At Duke the "hooker" dealt with the readmission of all Negro students who had flunked out last September. And at all of the schools where violence has flared this year a basic contention of the New Leftists is that there can be no solution to the problems they raise unless "all those engaged in protest be granted amnesty from reprisals from the university" or the police.

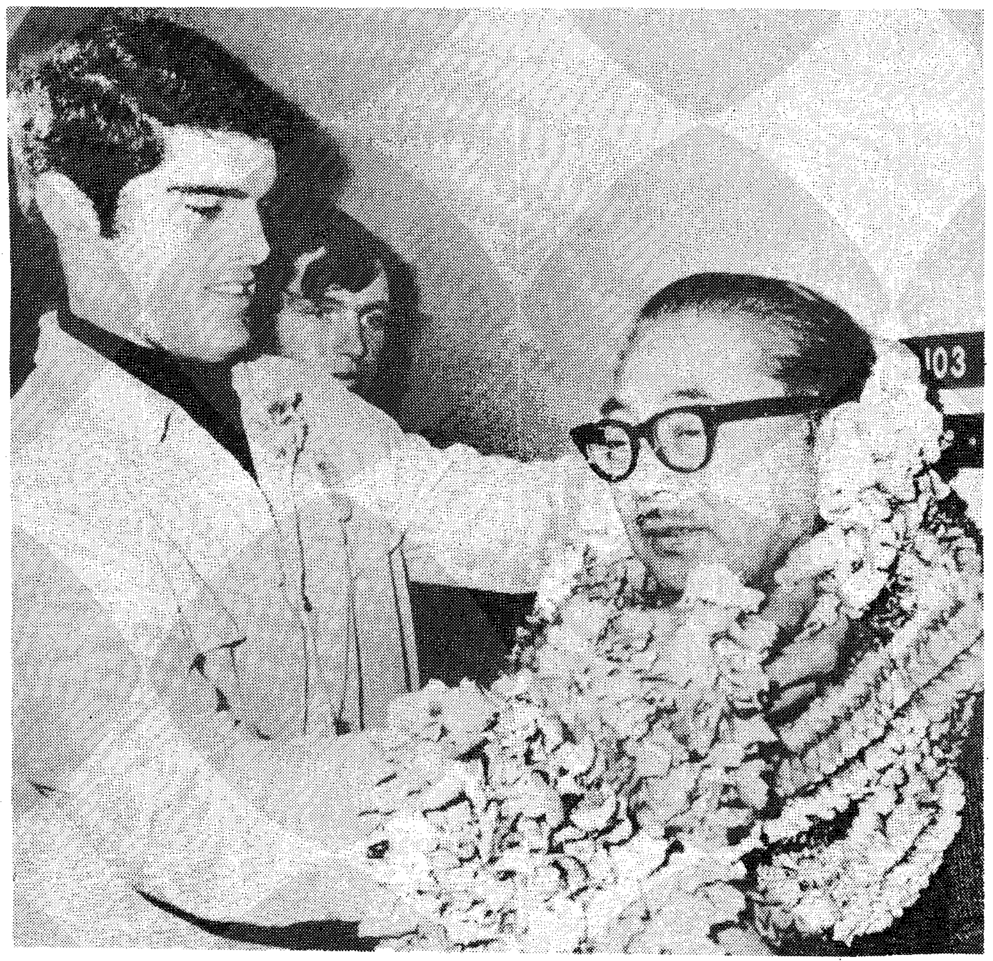
Naturally, the New Left realizes that the "hookers" placed in their list of demands cannot be granted, but they never expected them to be. The purpose of including such "hookers" is to make it certain that violence will be the result of their actions.

The mass media, by portraying the conflicts as student dissenters and do-gooders up against the out-of-tune administrators and regents, help the New Left achieve its goal of creating confusion and distorting political realities. The media often excuses itself because of time and space confines, but overt political myopia is either stupidity or bias.

At this moment, the New Left enjoys the role of receiving the most publicity of any youthful political group in the United States. The media vies in friendly competition for interviews, pictures and "inside" stories regarding the New Left movement and the New Left "heroes."

If the mass media decided to desert the New Left there is strong indication that the campus left wing would throttle itself on its own propaganda. The New Left is dependent upon the public relations image gained from the mass media and the media seem entranced with the outrageous behavior of the youthful leftists.

(*Continued on following page*)



Dennis Clarke, a member of the Young Americans for Freedom chapter at the University of Hawaii, drapes leis over acting S. F. State College President S. I. Hayakawa. Clarke and a fellow student flew to the mainland to laud Hayakawa for his strong stand against campus militants.

About the Author

Phillip Abbott Luce was educated at Mississippi State University and received a master's degree in Political Science from Ohio State University. In 1965 Mr. Luce left the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor party. He has since authored **The New Left** and **Road to Revolution** and co-authored **The Intelligent Student's Guide**. Besides his many articles in **Human Events**, of which he is a Contributing Editor, Mr. Luce has written for the **Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, New Guard, Rally** and **National Review**. Mr. Luce is currently organizing and lecturing for Young Americans for Freedom in California.

Four of the SDS/Yippie leaders convened a press conference in Washington recently. From left: *Jerry Rubin, Rennie Davis* (at mike), *David Dellinger* (with notebook) and *Abbie Hoffman* (extreme right). All have now been indicted by a federal grand jury for their part in the Chicago imbroglio during the Democratic convention.

The media grant legitimacy to the violent acts of the New Left, but they ignore or censor the violence perpetrated by the leftists on those who are willing to stand up against the onslaught of barbaric student terror.

From my own experience I know of case after case where student (or faculty) terrorists have physically attacked students (or professors) who have opposed them. At San Francisco State students and professors were set upon by New Leftists and beaten, their homes firebombed and their lives threatened because they would not buckle under to the strike demands of the new barbarians.

As I write, I have just been informed that a youthful anti-New Left activist in Oakland, Calif., had his home ransacked and his wife threatened with the mutilation of their child because he had dared to speak out for the Young Americans for Freedom. But I dare you to find this individual act of violence reported by any of the mass media.

In this past school year, I have been threatened on so many occasions and have personally witnessed so much personal violence that I cannot possibly rationalize the mass media's refusal to report this near-criminal action. The public's acceptance of "managed news" has allowed the media to practice thought-control on a level only outdone in Fascist Germany and the Communist-controlled countries.

Not only, however, have the media achieved the dubious distinction of creating the myth that the New Left is merely a student phenomena and not part of a movement to destroy our country, they have also been able to almost completely ignore the fact that the majority of students are opposed to the New Left (tactically and ideologically). Our previously mentioned visitor from outer space would have no idea that most students at San Francisco State or Berkeley attended class while the revolutionaries ranted and swore for the television and newspaper reporters.

Even worse is the almost universal refusal of the mass media to report the actions of those students willing to join together to fight the New Left. In fact, if you didn't read *Human Events* or a few politically related publications, you would have no idea that there is an active fight-back against the student leftists. It is doubtful even if you are a conscientious reader of our conservative press that you can easily gain the realization that the New Left is beginning to suffer some real setbacks from the concerned students.

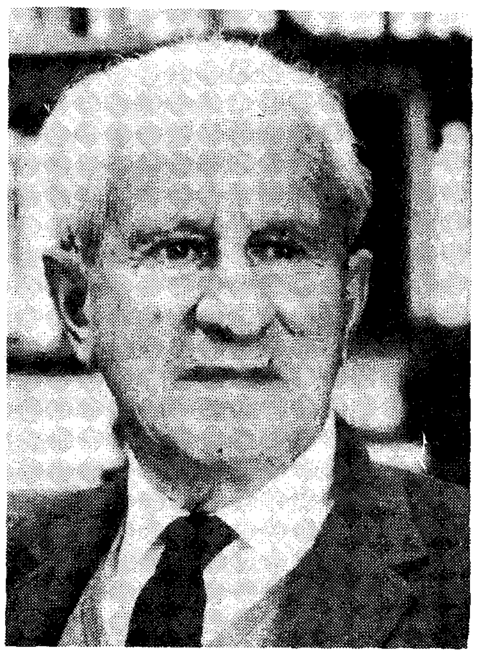
There is no justification for the continued refusal of the media to publicize the actions of those students and faculty that are refusing to buckle under to the New Leftists.

Few readers of *Human Events* probably know, for instance, that the overwhelming majority of faculty members at San Jose State College and San Diego State College signed a petition condemning student violence and opposing the faculty strike at San Francisco State. Even fewer will know of the total failure of the New Left to implement a student strike just prior to Thanksgiving at the University of California in San Diego, the home of the infamous Herbert Marcuse. Nor is it generally known that only about 500 students were originally involved in the "strike" at Berkeley this past month.

At San Francisco State, at the height of the New Left violence, registration took place for the coming term and this registration found over 17,000 students signing up for classes. Last semester there were 18,000. Columbia has seen a student-sponsored law suit aimed at quelling the New Left and similar law suits have been threatened at Pennsylvania State and at a number of schools in California.

It must seem strange, even to those who would deny any wrongdoing by the mass media, that when 50 New Leftists threaten violence at a college they manage front-page news coverage. And yet, when California Young Americans for Freedom in one week distributed 100,000 blue buttons throughout the state in an attempt to call attention to the fact that the majority of students want peace on campus, they were ignored in all of our slick newsweeklies and never captured a mention on national television. Fair play and balance have been ousted in favor of partisan bias for those who advocate and implement violence.

The mass media have catered to the whims of the New Left for so long that they now serve as its informal public relations agency. The vast majority of young people who are calmly seeking an education are being openly ignored by the media manipulators. Those students gaining knowledge that will allow them to enter technical and scientific fields impossible to reach without a college background have no outlet to the managed-news sources.



Prof. Herbert Marcuse is the ideological godfather of many of the extreme militants.

Student Non-Violence—1969 Style

We have all allowed the media to dictate what we will know of student politics and only the American people can stop this continued prostitution of news.

Traveling across this nation has offered me the rare opportunity to meet with young people who suffer real discrimination: the discrimination of news censorship. The media may portray our students as discontent and violent, but I have seen and talked with thousands of young people who will never succumb to the false prophesies of the New Left. These students need the support of everyone who believes in law and the democratic process.

It is past the time that we as conservatives can continue to be misled by the managed-news media into overrating the potentials of the New Leftists and underrating the actual gains of the vast majority of students who share our concern for the American system.

The struggle against the New Left is hardly finished, but the outlook is not so bleak or one-sided as many people would believe. Violence will continue on the campuses until the heretofore silent majority of students stand up to the New Left and openly proclaim: "We will no longer be ignored." There are signs that many students are becoming aware of their responsibility to fight the New Left and it is our responsibility to help them stand against the totalitarians who would replace the university system with the politics of anger and anarchy.

Let's Not Forget the Purge Trial Hoax

Even today, Soviet propagandists seem to get their story told

By FREDERIC NELSON

It is just 30 years since Whittaker Chambers went to Adolph Berle, then assistant secretary of state, with his story of Communist espionage in the U.S. government.

Chambers literally risked his life in this effort to warn the nation of what was happening. But the President of the United States dismissed his information with a reportedly four-letter sneer. Chambers was fortunate not to be indicted for treason. Later on he almost was. The bulk of the press commentators and the so-called intellectual community have treated him ever since as an "informer" and probably a liar.

Whittaker Chambers blew the whistle on Communists in the State Department and was pilloried by the Liberal Establishment for his trouble.

I have just finished reading *The Great Terror*, an account of the Stalin purges from 1934 to 1940, by English political writer Robert Conquest. That incredible mass massacre which claimed the lives of millions of Russians, all the way from Old Bolsheviks, army officers (at least 5,000 of them) and Stalin's fellow bureaucrats down to ordinary citizens, received little contemporary attention in the West. As Mr. Conquest points out repeatedly, enough was known about this exercise in genocide to justify Western indignation. The book *I Speak for the Silent* by Prof. Vladimir Tchernavin was a heart-rending account of the tortures and degradation in the labor camps just below the Arctic Circle. There was other hard information. Even the Soviet accounts of the so-called trials and confessions were fantastic enough to warn us of foul play.

However, the larger public was fed on material like that cabled to the New York *Times* by Walter Duranty who declared that "the future historian will probably accept the Stalinist version" of the trials. Duranty also ruled that confessions by the accused military men indicated the truth of the charges against them!

Actually, as Conquest points out, the only evidence that the generals had confessed to anything was the Stalin press's assertions that they had done so. There were no public trials.

Our own special ambassador to the USSR, Joseph E. Davies, decreed that the slaughter of the generals made the Red Army more efficient! When asked after one of his lectures whether there was a Fifth Column in Russia, Davies would reply, "There aren't any; they shot them all." This got a sure-fire laugh.

Of course there *was* a Fifth Column, if that is how you describe the desperate victims of Communist tyranny. The Vlassov army, which actually fought on the side of the hated Nazis, was an example.

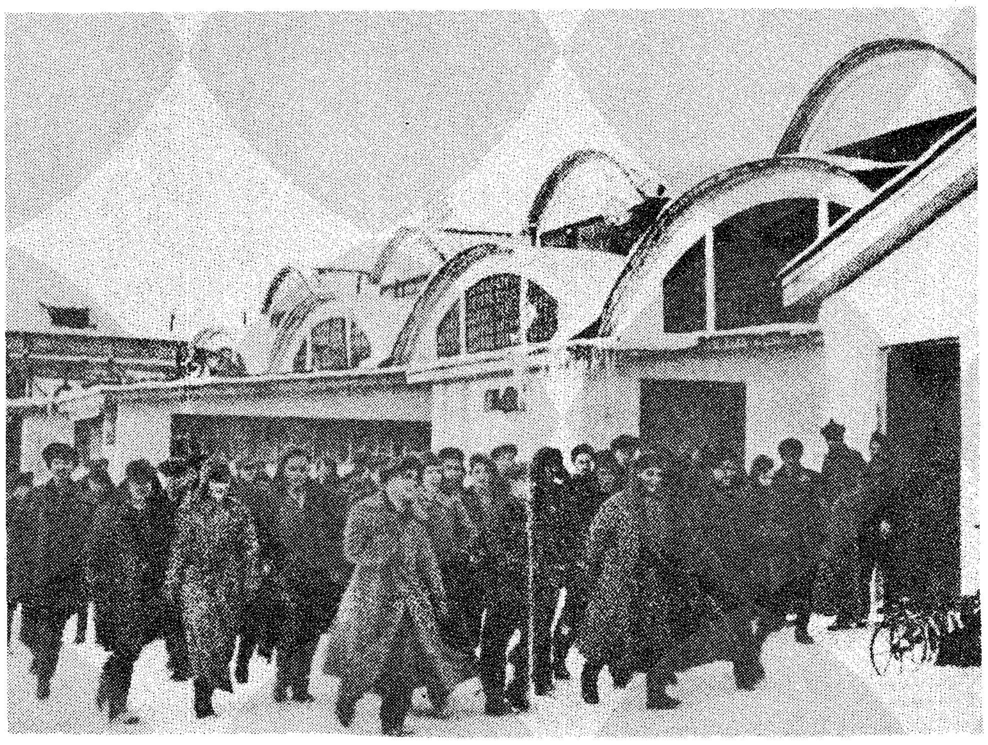
In my newspaper days there were spirited arguments about the purge trials and what could account for the confessions by respected and supposedly loyal leaders. Chambers, who went through repeated interrogations at long range, could have told us, as he did later in *Witness*, that "if a man's family is completely at the mercy of his captors, and if he is systematically tortured by experts, he will, unless he is exceptionally strong or already more than half dead, confess to anything."

But over here the debate on "Why Do They Confess?" excluded the obvious. I recall one colleague, whose judgment on most matters was sound enough, declaring "There is only one possible explanation: Guilt!" It was a time when none of us were too perceptive.

In England, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who were in Russia while the purge was in progress, came home to write their massive work, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, in which they eulogized Soviet concern for civil rights and Soviet progress in trade unionization and agricultural reform.

Prof. Harold Laski of the London School of Economics had a talk with Vyshinsky, the hatchet man of the trials, and observed that this character "was doing what an *ideal* Minister of Justice would do if we had such a person in this country—forcing his colleagues to consider what is meant by actual experience of the law in action."

Even the great Sir John Maynard Keynes thought that "the trials of the leading personages in 1936-38 were substantially justified by the facts."



Despite repeated Red denials, slave labor camps still exist in large numbers.

It was during this period that the Institute of Pacific Relations was industriously arranging contacts for Soviet propagandists with leading journalists, intellectuals and State Department officials. Idealistic young men, many of whom survived to wonder why they did it, rushed off to Spain to defend Republican Spain, unaware that their cause had been conglomerated by the Kremlin. To suggest such a thing at the time was to risk ostracism from the best circles.

In December 1944, nearly a decade after the beginning of the purges, American editors were still so ill-informed that the *National Geographic Magazine* printed an article by Owen Lattimore which included an account of a visit to Magadan, one of the more notorious slave camps in Siberia.

After commenting on the harshness of the Czarist exile system, Lattimore waxed rhapsodic about the enlightened administration of this hell-hole by the Communists. He was impressed by the camp straw boss, "Mr." Nikoshov, and his wife (the latter an NKVD agent), finding that they had "a trained and sensitive interest in art and music and a deep sense of civic responsibility."

The visitors were taken to a gold mine in the Kolyma Valley where they were greeted by a group of husky miners who, according to Mr. Conquest, "bear little resemblance to accounts of the actual prisoners from Soviet and other sources." The picture of these "miners" is captioned "They have to be strong to withstand winter's rigors." Mr. Conquest observes that the real inmates of the camp "were not expected to stand the winter's rigors and so it was unnecessary for them to be strong."

What I am coming to, rather too gradually, is the present-day consequences of two generations of blindness by liberals, journalists, professors, intellectuals and now and then a conservative, to such a palpable fraud.

If supposedly informed people could participate in the deception of a whole generation on so momentous an event as the liquidation of an unknown section of the country's elite, how much can we rely on the judgment of their successors on current problems: Viet Nam, the need of an anti-missile system, the prospects for a detente with the Reds, etc.? It is permissible to wonder.

"It is difficult," philosophizes Mr. Conquest, "for those of us who have lived in fairly stable societies to make the imaginative effort of realizing that the heads of a great state can be men who in the ordinary course of events would be thought of as criminals." It is indeed, although we managed to summon the imaginative effort to make the proper assessment of Hitler and his gang.

The usual excuse for the general failure to apply to Stalinism the same critical standards that were applied to Hitlerism is that the war demanded that we ignore the faults of an ally, even though Stalin had done his best to make Hitler his ally.

The trouble with this argument is that the adulation of communism was in full swing long before the war. Duranty's acceptance of the trials, and the ignorant debate in this country, antedate the Hitler threat by several years.

Owen Lattimore, of Institute of Pacific Relations fame, was among those who had the wool pulled over his eyes.

Eugene Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia*, which punctured the myth, appeared in 1937, but was shrugged off by the Liberal Establishment as the work of a disappointed radical who couldn't forgive the Communists for not being supermen. Malcolm Muggeridge's *Winter in Moscow* (1934) exposed the famine in the Ukraine and the horror of the already beginning purges, but, if the book was read by intellectuals, it left them unmoved, and their fantasy untroubled.

(Continued on following page)

About the Author

Mr. Nelson retired in 1961 as chief editorial writer for the **Saturday Evening Post**. A 1916 graduate of Harvard, he was an editorial writer for the Baltimore **Sun** from 1929 to 1942, the year he joined the **Saturday Evening Post** as an associate editor. He was the **Sun**'s London correspondent in 1931-32. Mr. Nelson won the Freedoms Foundation Award for editorial writing in 1951.

It is reassuring to know that you will continue to give us true facts in the news as started by Frank Hanighen and James Wick. To you and your staff our sincere congratulations.

Signed:

Mr. and Mrs. John E. DuBois, Jr.

Continued from preceding page

Remember the Purge Trial Hoax?

It is the current fashion to dismiss the Stalin despotism as a regrettable phase of social engineering during which too many eggs were broken to make the omelette. The monster is dead and has been repudiated by his successors. Therefore a deal with the Kremlin is possible, if only because Kosygin is uneasy about Mao.

Mr. Conquest questions this easy optimism. "All the present leaders rose in the old machine during Stalin's time," he reminds us. . . . "and the principles of rule are in general those then brought to fruition. . . . The de-Stalinization that has thus far taken place in the Soviet Union consists of the abandonment (or even the denunciation) of a specific set of excesses associated with the late dictator. . . . There has recently been indeed a considerable effort to rehabilitate the NKVD. . . . Since Khrushchev's fall a whole series of novels and plays has appeared featuring Secret Police heroes."

Furthermore Kosygin, the current boss, seems to have played a part in the denunciation of alleged "wreckers" when he was a member of Leningrad's Vyborg district party bureau "at a time when its main activity was the denunciation and purge of the previous secretaries and bureaus." Mikoyan, still a power in the Politburo, had a little-known part in the destruction of the American Communist party and its leaders. Purges and intrigue are a way of life with Communists.

Despite all this and despite the USSR's feverish upsurge of military activity, the soothsayers are still at it, suggesting *inter alia* that the Cold War, if there ever was one, is over; that any effort to defend ourselves against a Soviet nuclear strike would be provocative; that in Viet Nam we are engaged in a genocidal effort to exterminate a harmless Oriental people in order to fasten on them a corrupt, militaristic dictatorship; that a treaty to deny nuclear arms to our allies while leaving our potential enemies secure in their possession would insure peace.

The failure of past opinion-makers to make a rational assessment of Communist performance and intentions has left us with a horde of eager idealists, in colleges, newspaper offices and political offices who sincerely accept these heresies as the revealed word.

Occasionally a politician like Sen. Tom Dodd (D.-Conn.) attempts to uncover some segments of the truth—and look what happened to him! Cassandra was never a popular girl on the Campus Martius. The few anti-Communist journals like *Human Events* have no illusions about the difficulties of re-informing a whole generation, or anyway a disconcerting fraction thereof, of Americans who have been reading the wrong newspapers.

Nevertheless there are indications that the tide is turning and may rise to overwhelm the blind guides, if only our leaders will let it roll. Communism isn't the nation's only headache, but it's a big one, too big to be handled, as in the past, as if it wasn't there. The prospect of a change in the treatment justifies what President Nixon might well have called some cautious pessimism.

instead of the conventional 25th Anniversary Greeting...

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How Government Has Grown in 25 Years

By FELIX MORLEY

All students of the subject agree that over-extension of governmental activity was a primary factor in the downfall of ancient Rome. This great empire had collapsed internally before its far-lung frontiers were successfully broken by barbarian tribes.

Of course there were many factors involved in the catastrophe. An uncontrollable public debt; grinding taxation which could not stop inflation while both combined to make saving impossible; slavery; the decline of agriculture leading to urban congestion and disorder; official corruption, loss of religious faith and consequent immorality—all these played their part in tumbling the realm of the Caesars.

Basic to all the decadence, however, was the effort of the Roman government to regulate minutely the lives of its millions of subjects. This drained economic strength from the people. It substituted free "bread and circuses" for individual initiative. And all the time an ever-increasing bureaucracy bore down more heavily on weakening foundations.

The similarities do not constitute an exact parallel for the United States today. Equally striking differences could be cited. Roman leadership had little of the scientific knowledge and still less of the marvelous technology that is currently at our disposal. But stacked-up jets and strike-bound cities are not so functional as we would like to think. On the whole there is a remarkable resemblance between the warning signals of 369 and 1969 A.D.

From its earliest days *Human Events* had a willingness, indeed an anxiety, to consider the lessons of history in confronting the problems of the present. This was emphasized in the "Statement of Policy" issued by Frank C. Hanighen, William Henry Chamberlin and myself on March 1, 1944. Our policy, we said, "involves the reporting of facts which newspapers overlook. It involves equally the delineation of historical and philosophic background in order to focus the permanent as opposed to the transitory significance of what transpires."

It was that determination which makes the first *Year of Human Events*, brought out in book form by Henry Regnery at the close of 1944, of extraordinary interest today. This slim volume (available from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106) reprinted all the early issues exactly as they had first appeared and proclaimed on the jacket: "These essays are discriminating guide-posts to the future, cemented in careful analysis of the past—analysis unsurpassed in the American press."

The boast was justified. For instance, in the first regular issue, of Feb. 2, 1944, Mr. Chamberlin measured his unusual knowledge of Russia against the then-adulated character of its dictator. "Stalin," wrote Chamberlin, "has a vast capacity for waiting. . . . And Stalin is trying to impose a dictated Munich settlement of the Polish question on Great Britain and the United States."

The issue of Feb. 9, 1944, was my composition. It focused on the December 1943 Teheran Declaration of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, expressing "our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow." This led me to recall the "equally pious" but "ill-fated Holy Alliance of 1815, also concluded under the leadership of a Russian dictator." I then summarized the evidence pointing to the Kremlin "formula whereby the development of a Communist Europe, perhaps also a Communist China, may in due course be attained."

On Feb. 16, 1944, it was Frank Hanighen's turn. He posed the question: "What is Britain going to do?" and expressed strong doubt over the feasibility of Lord Halifax's advocacy of "a stronger and more unified Empire." Quoting from British sources, Hanighen pointed out that preservation of the Empire, let alone its strengthening, would depend on reconstitution of the balance of power in Europe. And that, he accurately concluded, "may no longer be possible."

That was the sort of unpopular but highly prescient journalism characteristic of *Human Events* during the latter part of World War II. What was remarkable was not the foresight, for most thoughtful people had the same misgivings, but the courage needed to put disagreeable anticipations into print. For some strange reason a publicist who ventures to predict unpleasantly will generally be accused of favoring and furthering that outcome. Doctors and other professional men, including stock market analysts, have an immunity here which is denied to even the most conscientious journalist.

The multi-million-dollar Rayburn House Office Building, shown here under construction, is but one of many new federal buildings which have been built to accommodate the mushrooming government.

During my association with it, *Human Events* was a small and struggling venture. I don't believe it had over 5,000 subscribers when I turned the direction over to Frank Hanighen in March 1950. The publication has greatly changed since then and has demonstrated that editorial courage need not be inimical to commercial success. But while the coverage is much broader, it is somewhat different from the early days when only one subject was treated, though thoroughly treated, in each issue.

So, when the editor courteously invited me to contribute to this Anniversary Issue, I asked and received permission to apply the old technique of detached speculation to the theme of my assignment: What the growth of the national government since 1944 portends. Only I must do so very briefly, having already used half my space in reminiscence.

We note first that the growth of our bureaucracy never slackens. At the beginning of the current fiscal year there were 3,055,201 civilians on the payroll of the national government, excluding those in "hush-hush" agencies like the CIA, of whom the Civil Service Commission keeps no record. This is nearly half again as many as were similarly employed a quarter-century ago, even though the rolls were then greatly swollen by the war emergency.

A better picture of the growth pattern is obtained by citing the statistics prior to the New Deal. In mid-1930 civilian personnel employed by the Hoover Administration totalled 604,948, a ratio of one to every 203 Americans. Today the ratio is approximately one to every 67.

The national bureaucracy has increased 500 per cent during a period in which the population gain has been 63 per cent.

These figures, moreover, flatten the true growth curve of those employed at taxpayer expense. They exclude state, county and municipal employment, all of which have shot up greatly during the past 25 years. Properly speaking, these also are employes of the "federal government," which is called federal precisely because its sub-divisions retain some vestiges of state and local authority.

One reason for the rapid growth of the national bureaucracy is its usurpation, with Supreme Court blessing, of functions which once were reserved for local government. For instance, the new Department of Housing and Urban Development is entirely concerned with activities that were municipal responsibilities in 1944. It will be a pleasant surprise if Secretary Romney holds its payroll down to the 16,000 employes who were there when he took office. Yet HUD is not for a moment discouraging increased expenditure by local government in the field of its activity.

Indeed, the picture is full of anomalies. To meet the increasing strain of local taxation Gov. Nelson Rockefeller suggests that the surtax be continued, even if we escape from the Viet Nam tangle, but then returned to the states in block grants. If one inquires why Washing-

(*Continued on following page*)

THE SOCIAL SECURITY TAX ON EARNINGS: 33 YEARS OF INCREASES

Calendar years	Total tax rate—shared equally by employer and employe	Maximum annual pay subject to tax	Maximum annual tax—shared equally by employer and employe
1937-49	2.0 %	$3,000	$ 60
1950	3.0 %	3,000	90
1951-53	3.0 %	3,600	108
1954	4.0 %	3,600	144
1955-56	4.0 %	4,200	168
1957-58	4.5 %	4,200	189
1959	5.0 %	4,800	240
1960-61	6.0 %	4,800	288
1962	6.25%	4,800	300
1963-65	7.25%	4,800	348
1966	8.4 %	6,600	554
1967	8.8 %	6,600	581
1968	8.8 %	7,800	686
1969	9.6 %	7,800	749
1970—Present law	9.6 %	7,800	749
1970—LBJ proposal	10.4 %	9,000	936

VALUE OF THE DOLLAR OVER PAST 30 YEARS

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor has compiled the following "value of the dollar" table based on the Consumer Price Index. All figures are for the month of November in each year.

1939	100 cents
1940	99.2 cents
1941	90.2 cents
1942	82.9 cents
1943	79.8 cents
1944	78.4 cents
1945	76.6 cents
1946	65.1 cents
1947	60.1 cents
1948	57.4 cents
1949	58.5 cents
1950	56.3 cents
1951	52.7 cents
1952	52.0 cents
1953	51.7 cents
1954	51.8 cents
1955	51.7 cents
1956	50.4 cents
1957	48.9 cents
1958	47.9 cents
1959	47.3 cents
1960	46.6 cents
1961	46.3 cents
1962	45.7 cents
1963	45.1 cents
1964	44.5 cents
1965	43.8 cents
1966	42.2 cents
1967	41.1 cents
1968	39.2 cents

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ton should be allowed to tax as agent for the states, the reply is that the central taxing power is more efficient. That is undoubtedly true, but raises the future question of why the central government is so wasteful, even when not incompetent, in spending the revenues which it extracts so mercilessly.

In some undertakings, such as Viet Nam or foreign aid, extravagance and corruption are to be expected from the nature of the operations. That does not explain why the Post Office Department, for instance, gives such poor service though it has more employes today than the entire U.S. government in 1930, and has raised its charges since then more than the general rise in living costs.

It was the endeavor of *Human Events* not to bewail but rather to try to comprehend the passing scene. Even the small sample of evidence here set forth suggests that in the past quarter-century we have become increasingly receptive to the doctrine of centralized power. From the feeding of children to the exploration of space no undertaking is any longer either too local or too large for the intervention of our national government. We still call it "federal." But in fact the federal republic, as it was founded, has ceased to be.

Free enterprise continues, on sufferance. The productive capacity of the country is enormous and its technology is superb. It is still permissible to oppose the authoritarian trend and, in spite of disorders, there seems little likelihood that our society will collapse like that of Rome. What is more probable is piecemeal evolution towards that all-embracing concentration of command which political science calls unitary socialism.

In other words, there is no longer the sharp ideological conflict with our former Russian ally on which *Human Events* thought it important to comment in 1944. Then the cleavage was one of fundamental political and economic theory. Now, for better or worse, it has become largely a naked rivalry of concentrated physical power.

That is what President Nixon clearly meant when he said that the era of confrontation between the U.S.A. and the USSR is over; the era of negotiation at hand.

About the Author

A Rhodes scholar, Mr. Morley began his distinguished career as a reporter for the Philadelphia **Public Ledger** in 1916. He was later associated with the United Press Association, the Philadelphia **North American**, and the Baltimore **Sun**. He was an editor of the Washington **Post** from 1933-40 and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing in 1936. From 1944 to 1949 he was an editor of **Human Events**, which he helped to found. A charter member of the Mont Pelerin Society, Mr. Morley has authored several books, including **Our Far Eastern Assignment, Gumption Island**, and **Freedom and Federalism.** He is a contributing columnist for **Nation's Business.**

Greetings on Human Events' 25th Anniversary

HOLMES ALEXANDER, *Author and Syndicated Columnist*—"I want to congratulate *Human Events* on its 25th Anniversary. No other publication has been so constant in its duty to bring facts and viewpoints to the American readership. *Human Events* has been resilient in times of adversity and responsive in times that called for revaluation of news representation. It has been inflexible only on fundamental principles of truth and the republican form of government which our country was founded upon."

TOM ANDERSON, *President, Southern Farm Publications*—"Since its inception *Human Events* has been one of my favorites. It is newsworthy, factual and educational. The same can be said of many publications, but in addition to those attributes, *Human Events* is entertaining and highly readable. Sadly, *that* cannot be said of many so-called conservative publications. *Human Events* deserves the support of all Americans who believe in God, family, country and freedom."

DR. EDWARD R. ANNIS, *Past President, American Medical Association*—"The national liberal communications media as a whole are determined to present a distorted, fragmentary, and often deliberately misleading interpretation of the news. Publications like *Human Events*—and they are all too few—present the other side of the story, and the whole story, for evaluation and critical appraisal from a necessarily broad perspective."

REP. LESLIE C. ARENDS (*R.-Ill.*)—"I should like to extend to all associated with this publication my heartiest congratulations. It is the clash of opinions that makes the wheels of democracy turn. *Human Events* has been of great value over the years in presenting a point of view that so often has gone unexpressed in other media of communication. I have been a regular reader of your publication and, to say the least, it has regularly presented the important facts that often escape notice and consideration."

REP. JOHN M. ASHBROOK (*R.-Ohio*), *Chairman, American Conservative Union*—"The resurgence of conservatism in our country during the past few years has been due, in no small part, to the faithful reporting of *Human Events* and we can never thank them enough. *Human Events* has served as a beacon light in the fog of managed news which has been foisted on the American people by the liberal press. As I travel the country, I find that *Human Events* reaches every area and is one of those ties which brings together the responsible constitutional conservatives who work for our principles and oppose socialism and communism. Certainly, achieving this significant milestone is a most commendable occasion. I offer my best wishes for 25 more good years for *Human Events* as we conservatives build a more effective political force in our country."

HON. EZRA TAFT BENSON, *former Secretary of Acriculture*—"For years I have read with interest and appreciation current issues of *Human Events* and extend my sincere congratulations for its 25 years of service to the people of the United States and the cause of freedom."

DR. GEO. S. BENSON, *President, National Education Program; President Emeritus, Harding College*—"Twenty years ago we began our subscription to *Human Events.* Its intelligent journalism and the courage and patriotism of its publishers and editors have served well the cause of freedom. It has been a priceless aid to our National Education Program staff in the preparation of our own educational materials reaching an estimated 25 million people weekly. We wish to voice our heartfelt congratulations to *Human Events* on its 25th birthday and express our gratitude for its distinguished service to mankind."

KENNETH G. BENTSON, *Chairman, Guaranty Trust Co., Phoenix*—"You can be justly proud of the impact and influence *Human Events* has had on thinking Americans during your 25 years in publication. The permissive men of government who have allowed socialism, crime, riots and inflation are on their way out, thanks to you people of *Human Events,* and I hope for a long, long time."

REP. BEN B. BLACKBURN (*R.-Ga.*)—"At a time when most publications appear to be dominated by writers intent on promoting socialism, the demise of our federal system and the loss of local control over local matters, it is refreshing and encouraging to have a publication which speaks out in favor of protecting basic American principles which have given rise to our nation's great success. In my opinion, the American public has begun to recognize the fallacies which exist in much of the thinking which has been fed to them in recent years. Such fallacies can only be exposed through presentations by publications such as yours."

PROF. ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN, *Political Science Department, Le Moyne College*—"I congratulate the editors of *Human Events* on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of this fine weekly Washington report. Over the years I have found *Human Events* to be indispensable in keeping up with the key issues which confront us."

L. BRENT BOZELL, *Editor, Triumph Magazine*—"I have found *Human Events* a consistently valuable source of political news from that increasingly rare perspective, thoughtful American conservatism."

HON. SPRUILLE BRADEN, *former U.S. Ambassador*—"I am delighted to express my approval of *Human Events,* to which I have been a subscriber practically ever since I returned from my diplomatic service abroad in 1945. . . . I might add that each time I have resubscribed to *Human Events* it has been for the longest period possible. It was *Human Events* which in the middle of August 1957, a year and a half before the Communists took over in Cuba on Jan. 1, 1959, when Castro came down from the hills, published an article in which I said that if the United States government continued with its then policy we would get Castro, chaos and communism in Cuba. This article was ignored by the State Department. . . it would be a godsend to the country if some of our so-called leading journals would be replaced by *Human Events.*"

WM. H. BRADY JR., *President, W. H. Brady Co.* — "The singular accomplishment of *Human Events* is that for 25 years it has challenged the liberal illuminati, and has given great hope and greater courage to conservatives everywhere."

WALTER BRENNAN, *Actor*—"The busy person who desires to keep informed on the rapidly changing events in this most crucial time in our history will find the facts in *Human Events.* I read every issue."

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER, *former U.S. Senator*—"I am glad to offer my congratulations to *Human Events* on the occasion of its 25th year of publication. I read in it many things I would not otherwise read in other papers or hear on radio or television."

REP. BILL BROCK (*R.-Tenn.*)— "In the past quarter century, thanks to the efforts of responsible, resourceful reporting and analysis such as that in *Human Events,* public opinion in America has slowly but surely been influenced. Today, the results of this long campaign of educating the public and keeping it informed have paid off. In the elections of 1966 and 1968, millions of Americans showed a new awareness of the issues and a stronger support for good, sound government. *Human Events* is one of the reasons for this great popular breakthrough, and so its 25th Anniversary comes at a specially appropriate time. Best wishes for the future, and congratulations on a job well done."

REP. JOEL T. BROYHILL (*R.-Va.*)—"You are to be congratulated on 25 years of consistently fair presentation of the conservative viewpoint, which is so seldom presented in other news media."

AVERY BRUNDAGE, *Chairman, International Olympic Committee*—"My compliments on 25 years of effective efforts toward sanity in government. Congratulations."

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *Chairman and Publisher, Richmond Newspapers, Inc.*—"I have discussed with my colleagues (responsible for the editorial pages of these newspapers) their own opinions of *Human Events* and find that we are all remarkably in harmony. We believe that *Human Events* has been one of the most consistently reliable, perennially readable, continuously informative publications of any stature and, in our opinion, it is the granddaddy of contemporary conservative publications. It is our belief that conservatism can thrive in this country only so long as *Human Events,* and its companion publications, continue to expound the conservative doctrine, to provide a forum for conservative thought and to serve as a source to which conservatives may turn for facts and explanations. We are particularly pleased that *Human Events* finds occasion with some frequency to reprint editorials from the *Times-Dispatch* and the *News Leader.*"

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN, *Special Assistant to the President*—"Both as an editorial writer and an assistant to the President, I have found *Human Events* to be an indispensable source of information on the conservative movement and an invaluable symposium of some of the best of conservative writing and thinking in the United States. I would not be without a subscription."

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR., *Editor, National Review*—"I am delighted to join in complimenting the editors of *Human Events* on the survival of their admirable journal over the years. It is a far different publication now from what it was a quarter-century ago when I first came across it. It was then the only lighthouse around—four pages of informed news commentary by Frank Hanighen, an essay of four pages, and once a month a European report. My first published piece (outside school and college stuff) was there, so that I am indebted to it not only for its public, but for its personal services. My heartiest congratulations to the able team which is now in control of it."

REP. GEORGE BUSH (*R.-Tex.*)—"I'm sure you will hear from many people on the general benefit they feel your publication has been to their communities, but I wanted to add my words of congratulations and best wishes for many more years!"

SEN. HARRY F. BYRD JR. *D.-Va.*)—"Your editors and staff deserve a rating of high excellence for a helpful evaluation of vital national issues and problems. My hope is that *Human Events* will maintain its important contributions to our true national welfare far into the future. I know they are needed and believe they will be appreciated."

TAYLOR CALDWELL, *Author*—"I rely on *Human Events* to get the truth in the current news."

JAMESON G. CAMPAIGNE, *Editor, Indianapolis Star*—"We at the Indianapolis *Star* have been reading *Human Events* since the days of Felix Morley, Frank Hanighen and Jim Wick and though it has gone through many changes it still serves as an inspiration and informant for conservative writers and thinkers. In those early days it seemed like a lonely voice, but I am glad to be able to say that its influence was in large measure responsible for the rise and success of other conservative journals and magazines, and for the growing success of conservative influence among young Americans. It has always been useful to us as a source of information and a challenging expression of vigorous conservative philosophy. I can only hope for its continued success in the future."

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, *Author and Syndicated Columnist*—"I rely on *Human Events* absolutely. Long life to you."

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN, *Author*—"As one of the frequent early contributors to *Human Events,* launched by the late Frank Hanighen and Felix Morley during the war, I am glad to offer 25th birthday greetings to a publication that has never gone with the tide and has provided a continual voice of dissenting criticism of the many follies of United States foreign and domestic policy. I think especially of its vigorous rejection of the adulation of Stalin which was all too common in the war years and engulfed some of our best-known magazines and commentators. *Human Events* has also furnished a rallying point for critics of the unsound financial and economic policies that have led the United States down the primrose path of inflation. May its 50th and 100th birthdays be equally or more auspicious."

FRED G. CLARK, *Chairman, American Economic Foundation*—"Twenty-five years ago I had occasion to congratulate

(Continued on following page)

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GEN. MARK W. CLARK—"As an avid reader of *Human Events*, I am deeply impressed with the value of such a publication. Since the conservative point of view has so few eloquent voices in these times, *Human Events* takes on added importance in our day. It is my hope that it will long continue and that other quality conservative publications will follow in its wake."

PROF. ROY COLBY, *Colorado State College*—"It is obvious that movements, trends and significant events on both the national and international scene are subject, in general, to two diverse interpretations: (1) that of the collectivists, who misuse words to coerce men into desiring and accepting what is deemed good for them by other men; and (2) that of the liberators of the human spirit, who encourage men to develop their potentialities as individuals. For a quarter of a century, *Human Events* has been exposing the seductive but spurious values of the former position and extolling the merits of the latter."

JOE CRAIL, *President, Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association*—"*Human Events* is 'first reading' when it arrives every week. *Human Events* provides valuable intellectual leadership and documentation for letters, speeches and educational material in our struggle against the rise of a Socialist dictator. It is also interesting news, as it happens, and with background material of the liberal-conservative conflict in Washington and throughout the country. The dedicated publishers, editors, writers and supporters have my thanks and congratulations for 25 years of important as well as entertaining service."

REP. WILLIAM C. CRAMER (*R.-Fla.*)—"*Human Events* has rendered an outstanding public service in making known to its subscribers what is going on in government and calling attention to the people the serious problems which our country is facing. Many of my constituents and friends read *Human Events* and have expressed their sincere appreciation to me for the valuable information that has been provided to them. I myself have found much of the material enlightening and interesting and I look forward to receiving continued issues."

PHILIP M. CRANE, *Author, Academician*—"Congratulations to *Human Events* on its Silver Anniversary. Thank God for Frank Hanighen, James Wick, Milton Wick, and the entire *Human Events* family. *Human Events* is a trusted friend no conservative can afford to be without. Its journalistic integrity and reportorial accuracy are as vital in trying to keep Republican administrations honest as in exposing the heavy-handedness of every Democratic administration since the publication's birth. May *Human Events* continue to enjoy good health for another quarter-century and may it ever adhere to its policy of independence of any individual, however exalted, and complete dependence upon principle, however degraded."

SEN. CARL T. CURTIS (*R.-Neb.*)—"*Human Events* is a publication that performs a very definite and beneficial public service. I like its fearless devotion to principle and to the preservation of the political philosophy that has made the United States a great nation. Because of its uniqueness it gives to its readers needed information not found elsewhere."

WAINWRIGHT DAWSON JR., *Chairman, United Republicans of America*—"The consistently sound information and analysis on the state of our Republic has made *Human Events* the greatest political tool in publishing today. Conservatives all across the country agree that *Human Events* is the major cohesive force of our cause. I hope we may count on this effective newspaper for another 25 years at least."

PROF. GOTTFRIED DIETZE, *Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University*—"Congratulations on your 25th Anniversary! *Human Events* has rendered a great service by staunchly defending free government and by constantly reminding the people of the venerable ideals of the Constitution. My best wishes for your continued success!"

PROF. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, *Department of Economics, Georgetown University*—"On its 25th Anniversary *Human Events* deserves the greatest tribute for its forthright and courageous reporting of news, events and interpretations that ordinarily cannot be found in most periodicals and newspapers. It fully represents what Jefferson meant: 'When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.'"

JOHN DOS PASSOS, *Author*—"I have subscribed to *Human Events* since its inception 25 years ago. With the increasing deterioration of the daily press as a source of news an opposition organ becomes more and more needed. To obtain any kind of balanced picture of what is going on in the world you have to have the other side of the story. *Human Events* furnishes that other side of the story."

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be dependable, and I am glad to receive it from time to time."

ALLEN DRURY, *Author*—"*Human Events* is to be congratulated on reaching its 25th birthday in such lively and effective shape. It digs into dark corners and brings into the light many interesting facts which otherwise would be carefully swept under the rug by the so-called 'liberals.' This is an invaluable service in a era when some extremely powerful broom-wielders are doing some very frantic sweeping. May the next 25 years be as constructive and worthwhile."

HON. CHARLES EDISON, *former Governor of New Jersey and Secretary of the Navy*— "As a subscriber to *Human Events* from its very beginning, I have found it consistently excellent and most helpful in keeping me accurately informed on important issues of the day. I look forward eagerly to reading it every week. Hearty congratulations on your 25th Anniversary."

SEN. SAM J. ERVIN JR. (*D.-N.C.*)—"*Human Events* has rendered great service to the American people by its constant advocacy of the fundamental principles upon which the United States was founded. I commend its reading to all Americans who believe that liberty is the supreme value of civilization, and trust that it will have other anniversaries throughout the foreseeable future."

SEN. PAUL FANNIN (*R.-Ariz.*)—"*Human Events* has been most helpful to me in my service in the United States Senate. There I find stories and information that appear in no other weekly publication. Often this information appears in *Human Events* days and weeks before I see it printed elsewhere. Therefore I consider *Human Events* a vital part of the Washington news scene and wish many more years of publication to those in charge."

LAWRENCE FERTIG, *Author, Economist*—"*Human Events* fills an important need in the intellectual life of Conservatives. It provides essential information to guide one's thinking and it also gives encouragement and inspiration to those who are dedicated to the preservation of a free society. In view of calculated distortion of news in the press, and by radio and television commentators, *Human Events* is all the more important these days. Nowhere else can one read the weekly comments of so many leading Conservative writers, and nowhere else can one get the kind of information which is either eliminated or submerged by general news media."

JOHN M. FISHER, *President, American Security Council*—"I have found that *Human Events*, over the years, has been alert to matters affecting our national security and responsible and articulate in expressing its point of view with regard to these issues."

FRANK FLICK, *President, Flick-Reedy Corp.*—"Whether we are losing the battle and are destined by God to be the remnants, or holding the line, or reversing the tide of false teaching, *Human Events* will go down in history as one who contributed great things in a tireless and encouraging manner."

REP. GERALD R. FORD (*R.-Mich.*)—"Conservatism needs more than routine exposition. If the true meaning of conservatism is to be understood, it needs enlightened interpretation. That is what *Human Events* has been providing for a quarter of a century—a service most beneficial in this world of sharply contending political philosophies. It therefore gives me pleasure to pay tribute to the editors and staff of *Human Events* in this 25th Anniversary Issue."

REP. ED FOREMAN (*R.-N.M.*)—"*Human Events* is one of my favorite publications. Consistently—it is objective in its reporting, correct in its analysis—it remains a most important piece of reading matter. For a nation weary of liberal rhetoric, *Human Events* offers—as it has for the last 25 years—a clear, reasonable approach to event-making news."

PATRICK J. FRAWLEY JR., *Chairman, Schick Safety Razor Co.*—"*Human Events* is 'must reading' for getting a full and balanced viewpoint of what is happening in the nation. Its style of interesting, responsible and accurate reporting makes it easy to keep on reading every week."

SEN. BARRY M. GOLDWATER (*R.-Ariz.*)—"I am very happy to tell you what a great contribution I feel *Human Events* has made and is making in the not-too-easy task of telling the American people about honest conservatism. It has been of great value to me in my years in the Senate, and I look forward to working with the staff in the years ahead."

PIERRE F. GOODRICH, *Attorney*—"My remembrance of *Human Events* goes back to the first copy I ever received which must have been in 1944. I was throwing away mail, but this particular thing happened to arrive in my wastebasket face up and it said *Human Events*. I thought that was a strange title and I pulled it out of my basket. I have been a reader of *Human Events* ever since then. . . . There are some parts of the country where we can buy the Chicago *Tribune* and the Indianapolis *Star*. There are other parts of the country where that is impossible. While *Human Events* is welcome reading even in this hopefully better-informed area, it surely must be worthwhile where there is no news coverage otherwise. . . . I think *Human Events* is an important weekly newspaper which colleges may well less justly omit than their necessity of having the New York *Times*. I am wondering if you might not test somewhat the intellectual integrity of the college by the extent to which it excludes one or the other or both."

WM. J. GREDE, *Chairman, Grede Foundries, Inc.*—"Some people are still thanking me and expressing appreciation for the fact that on that first launching of *Human Events*, I placed their names on the subscription list. Through the intervening years, *Human Events* has consistently carried on a program of objective reporting and at the same time, when the bulk of the mass media press were extolling the virtues of the trend toward socialism, *Human Events* kept the fundamental American philosophy of freedom clearly before the eyes of its readers. For this reason it has served not only as an inspiration for me, but has served well as an educational tool which I have for many years made available to staff and other employes in our company, to educators at grade, high school, and college level, and to college students. It is my hope that this 25th Anniversary is only a way station on a continuing journey dedicated to the preservation of conservatism and freedom in a free America."

REP. H. R. GROSS (*R.-Iowa*)—"I have been a regular reader of *Human Events* for many years and have always found its articles to be accurate and informative. Most importantly, it performs a vital function in espousing the conservative cause."

REP. CHARLES S. GUBSER (*R.-Calif*)—"In my opinion, *Human Events* presents the conservative point of view in a manner which is completely responsible and ethical. By so doing, it contributes to the national welfare by helping to balance the information on which national policy is based. I wish you many more successful years of printing the truth."

SEN. EDWARD J. GURNEY (*R.-Fla.*)—"Ever since *Human Events* was founded it has been a valuable source of information for the Conservative community. In my own case, it has saved my staff and me from tedious research and helped to keep us informed on the thinking in this country. Many of us read *Human Events* as a guide and use it to supplement our own thinking. I can only hope the editors continue to publish this fine newspaper, and in doing so, continue their outstanding service, not only to the Conservative element in this country, but also to all concerned Americans."

REP. DURWARD G. HALL (*R.-Mo.*)—"*Human Events* has served as an effective voice in combating and answering the privileged liberal dogma. It has also served as a thoughtful and constructive exponent of the conservative cause."

SEN. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN (*R.-Wyo.*)—"Let me extend my thanks to the staff of *Human Events* for articulating a valid point of view that all too often would be not adequately covered if not for your efforts. There are a number of us who appreciate the efforts that you have made in the past and look forward to your contributions in the years ahead."

WALTER HARNISCHFEGER, *Chairman, Harnischfeger Corp.*—"I was well acquainted with Mr. Hanighen who founded this publication. It is one of the outstanding publications which is consistently writing articles on economic and political conditions and expressing the truth. In this day and age, when there is so much false propaganda, it is of great importance that there is a newspaper like *Human Events* still in existence."

HENRY HAZLITT, *Author and Economist*—"If *Human Events* did not exist, I for one would be a less informed man, and certainly a far more discouraged one. *Human Events* has been important to me first of all because of its background information and its news—news of political developments, plans and plots that one seldom gets in the ordinary newspapers and newsmagazines. In addition to that I find it a constant source of encouragement. It tells me that I am not alone. Whenever I am disturbed by some new leftist development, some new scheme of government spending, some new usurpation of government power or extension of the welfare state, and find nothing but praise for this development in the Establishment press, my sense of frustration is almost sure to be relieved by the next issue of *Human Events*, where I find a realistic appraisal of the new project. *Human Events* has given encouragement and a wider audience to many of the country's outstanding conservative writers, and increased their influence individually and collectively. It has been second to no other periodical in its defense of free enterprise, law, order, honorable peace, and individual freedom. America will need it even more in the next 25 years than in the last 25 years."

JOHN A. HOWARD, *President, Rockford College*—"In an era when a great part of the public news media has maintained a forceful editorial policy in support of governmental answers to the great problems of society, *Human Events* has provided one of the few consistent and forthright voices in behalf of local initiative and individual responsibility for decision-making. Our country is the stronger for the courage of *Human Events* in making widely known both the philosophical and the practical reasons for maintaining a decentralized society."

SEN. ROMAN L. HRUSKA (*R.-Neb.*)—"It has become commonplace over the past quarter-century for constituents to send me clippings from *Human Events* with the observation that 'the enclosed article says it better than I can.' I can think of no higher praise for a publication which seeks to present a consistent and outspoken viewpoint on the issues which confront our nation."

WILLIAM JACKMAN, *President, Investors League, Inc.*—"Many congratulations to you and your predecessors for keeping *Human Events* alive and active over the past 25 years. No one interested in national politics and economics could do without it. Your editorial staff is excellent. The conservative community now needs it more than ever. It deserves to receive a great deal more corporate institutional advertising."

DAVID R. JONES, *Executive Director, Young Americans for Freedom*—"*Human Events* has been the pace-setter for those young Americans who want this nation to be a beacon light for free men everywhere. *Human Events* has provided thousands of young Americans with an up-to-date review and preview of news emanating from our Nation's Capital. Those who cherish individual liberty through constitutional government can be grateful for the efforts of those who keep the torch of liberty glowing at *Human Events*."

JENKIN LLOYD JONES, *Editor and Publisher, Tulsa Tribune*—"One of the strongest points of *Human Events* is its willingness to document in detail a case against some of the popular thinking of the moment. Good journalism in every age requires observers who have the courage to defy orthodoxy and to think unthinkable thoughts. I find a lot in *Human Events* that is worth thinking about."

HOWARD E. KERSHNER, *Editor, Christian Economics*—"*Human Events* is the best collection of news and comment on political affairs coming out of Washington. I have read it almost from the beginning and find it indispensable to one who seeks to keep abreast of the Washington scene. As a columnist, radio commentator, editor and writer on political, economic and international affairs, I would not be without this useful aid. Best wishes for the next quarter-century."

JAMES J. KILPATRICK, *Syndicated Columnist*—"In terms of conservative values, *Human Events* performs the same vital function that once was performed by the patriarchs of ancient tribes. Their task was to preserve the tablets—to see that the laws and covenants and judgments, graven in stone, were passed from one generation to another. One of the happy aspects of *Human Events*, however, is that its editors do not perform this solemn task solemnly. They go at it lustily—even belligerently—in the combative spirit of men who love to fight for the causes they cherish. They hit hard; and they consistently come up with reports and viewpoints that I find nowhere else."

GOV. CLAUDE R. KIRK JR. *of Florida*—"*Human Events* has fulfilled a role in American journalism for 25 years as an articulate advocate for the conservative point of view. Best wishes on this 25th Anniversary and for at least 25 more years of outstanding service to your readers."

RUSSELL KIRK, *Author and Syndicated Columnist*—"It is heartening to observe the steady growth of *Human Events*

(*Continued on following page*)

over the years in vigor, circulation and practical influence. The paper commenced as an endeavor to counter injustice and imprudence in American foreign policy; it now casts its net wide. It is weary work, contending against the follies of the mass-age; but the editors of *Human Events* cheerfully take arms against our sea of troubles."

WALTER KNOTT, *President, Knott's Berry Farm*—"Congratulations to *Human Events* on its 25th Anniversary. It has been my pleasure to watch you grow. I have always found your articles interesting, enlightening and courageous; and may you continue to provide such articles for your readership."

GEN. THOMAS A. LANE, *Author, Syndicated Columnist, President, Americans for Constitutional Action*—"Ours is an age when reason is overwhelmed by errors. The liberal news media are floundering in a fog of emotional irrelevance. Our people are oppressed and bewildered by bad counsel. To this scene, *Human Events* brings clear vision and sound analysis. On my lecture tours, I have been told repeatedly by concerned citizens, 'I didn't know what was happening in this country until a friend gave me a subscription to *Human Events*.' I rejoice in this 25th birthday of *Human Events* and in its growing acceptance by our people. Where *Human Events* goes, light is shed."

REED LARSON, *Executive Vice President, National Right to Work Committee*—"I look forward to receiving *Human Events* each week. It provides a breadth of coverage and insight which is available from no other publication. *Human Events* offers an important service for the entire nation by providing a measure of balance to the reporting available to the American people."

VICTOR LASKY, *Author and Syndicated Columnist*—"*Human Events* is not only the voice of decent conservatism—at a time when conservative voices are few and far between—but it is always readable, exciting and provocative. Long may it be published!"

FULTON LEWIS III, *Radio Commentator*—"When historians write their reviews of the past quarter of a century, they will find it difficult to ignore the magnificent role which *Human Events* has played in the crusade to preserve American principles. I am proud to be among the many who salute you on the occasion of your 25th Anniversary. As a distinguished, responsible and dynamic voice of conservatism, you have earned and deserve much respect and admiration."

WILLIAM LOEB, *President, Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*—"Every U.S. citizen who wants to see our nation develop and grow in harmony with the principles set forth by the signers of the Declaration of Independence should read *Human Events* each week so as to determine how the battle is going and on what new bastion the enemy must be met. For a quarter of a century *Human Events* has been the lighthouse on freedom's shores."

TED LOEFFLER, *President, Viewpoint Books*—"In an era which has seen the inauguration of more Socialist programs than the United States has ever known, *Human Events* dared to speak out; dared to have a purpose and make it known. The dedication of *Human Events* to fearless reporting from a conservative viewpoint has played no small part in the holding action against incompetence and political irresponsibility."

PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE, *Author*—"*Human Events* is the only publication that isn't afraid to report the truth every week from our Nation's Capital. If I had to depend upon the generally accepted mass media outlets for my news from Washington, then I might be tempted to 'drop-out' of the political fight. I hasten to add the fact, generally unknown and never unfortunately boasted about, that the owners and staff at *Human Events* represent the youngest political talent on any major political publication in the United States. Any college student fearful of the 'system' need only look at Tom Winter, Bob Kephart and Allan Ryskind to find the courage to buck the current ultra-liberal political trend. The staff at *Human Events* has proven that you can be young, radical and truthful while producing a weekly newspaper that causes our liberals and leftists to retreat to their philosophically dark and dank ivory towers."

REP. DONALD E. 'BUZ' LUKENS (*R.-Ohio*)—"On occasion I have not agreed with you; however, your paper has never failed to shed a refreshing insight to the many problems facing our country. To the truly concerned American, regardless of his ideology, *Human Events* has succeeded in broadening the individual's knowledge of the issues of the day when that individual would normally have been handicapped and shortsighted because of the predominately liberal editorials presented by the majority of the news media."

DANIEL LYONS, S.J., *Author, Editor, Twin Circle*—"*Human Events* is by far the finest publication in its field. It is required reading in order to keep informed on what concerns our country. I read it every week and would never be without it."

EUGENE LYONS, *Author and former Senior Editor, The Reader's Digest*—"I have been a subscriber to *Human Events* from the day it was founded and an occasional contributor throughout the years. So it is almost as a member of the family that I want to congratulate not only the newspaper, but ourselves. Left-liberal propaganda in the last dozen years has succeeded, alas, in turning 'anti-Communist' into a dirty word. The need for hard, dedicated anti-communism is therefore especially urgent today, and support for *Human Events* consequently indispensable."

J. DANIEL MAHONEY, *State Chairman, Conservative Party of New York*—"*Human Events* has been a tremendous source of information, counsel and journalistic leadership to the entire conservative community. The growth of the conservative movement in recent

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years is attributable in no small part to the inspiration and guidance which *Human Events* has provided over the past 25 years. Not only has *Human Events* been in the forefront of day-to-day political developments, it has also played a key role in shaping the thinking of the conservative leaders who are now at the forefront of the American conservative movement. All of us owe a great debt of gratitude to *Human Events* for its fine work over the years."

CLARENCE MANION, *former Dean, Notre Dame Law School*—"I can hardly believe that I have been receiving *Human Events* for *only* 25 years. It seems to me that the solid Conservative convictions that it helped me to form are much older than that. But I am sure of this: I couldn't do without *Human Events* now. So may God bless *Human Events* and keep it coming."

HUGHSTON M. McBAIN, *former Chairman, Marshall Field and Co.*—"Looking back across the years, what impresses me most about *Human Events* is that no one need ever be ashamed of what it has said, or the positions taken, on countless important issues. I know of no other publication with such a record. How did this happen? I think I know the answer. From the start, its editors' credo has been truthfulness and integrity. They have remained steadfast against the temptations ever before them to 'go along with the crowd,' 'butter-up politicians and bureaucrats,' and let 'expediency' cause them to let down their standards."

NEIL McCAFFREY, *President, Conservative Book Club*—"I know of no publication over the past quarter-century that has been so consistently reliable, accurate, perceptive and comprehensive in its political coverage as *Human Events*. Without *Human Events*, many conservatives would have been flying on one engine—and many others would have been grounded. My one regret is that it took most of these 25 years for this valuable weekly to reach a circulation of 100,000. I hope it reaches 200,000 much faster. That will be a sign that our country has turned the corner."

CHARLES A. McMANUS, *Executive Director, Americans for Constitutional Action*—"For 25 years *Human Events* has consistently been in the forefront of the crusade to provide accurate and worthwhile news of vital importance to the over-all workings of our political system and the success of our constitutional form of government. *Human Events* has provided an invaluable service to the public by presenting responsible conservative opinions along with a clear, concise summary of current events. For many years responsible conservative groups have been fighting for a cause that at times seemed lost, or at best unpopular. Finally, through a monumental effort, with *Human Events* among the leaders, constitutional conservatives have reached a position of strength which seemed virtually unattainable 25 years ago."

ROGER MILLIKEN, *President, Deering Milliken, Inc.*—"Responsible citizenship requires that said citizen shall be as well informed as possible on the issues affecting his country. *Human Events* over the years has done much to bring to the attention of its readership an extremely important point of view in the analysis of the news which has done much to round out the knowledge of its readers."

RAYMOND MOLEY, *Syndicated Columnist*—"I have never known a more dedicated and unselfish man than Frank Hanighen and that applies equally to Jim Wick. If they were alive I know they would rejoice in the growth and influence, and the extension of coverage that is represented in *Human Events* today. With so many of our publications following the Liberal party line, especially the ones that emanate from New York, this torchbearer of sound principles is a blessing for a country which must return to fundamental principles or it too, like other great nations, will perish. This mission is now entrusted to new editors who are equally dedicated to the objectives which the founders established so many years ago. As a journalist I find it indispensable writing every week."

ADM. BEN MOREELL, *Chairman, Americans for Constitutional Action*—"I have always been proud of the fact that I was among the first supporters of *Human Events* when it was officially launched in 1944. As I look back over the years since that date I am impressed by the almost insuperable difficulties that this struggling venture has faced and overcome. It has not been easy, I know. It took dedication to high ideals, perseverance, wisdom and lots of courage to stay with the task during many years when the going was very, very rough. There is no way to calculate one's debt to *Human Events*. Perhaps those who owe most are the starry-eyed liberals who more than once were saved from their folly by the courageous men of *Human Events* who were resisting them! But all of us are indebted to them for holding high the banner of freedom while many of us slept!"

GEORGE MORGENSTERN, *Editor, Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune*—"I was an admirer and friend of Frank Hanighen, who founded *Human Events* 25 years ago, and wrote with some regularity for his weekly report on the national scene. We felt a wrench at his passing, but, providentially, *Human Events* went on, and its standards of conviction and courage are no less than they were in his day. As a reflection of what is right and what is wrong in America, and especially in its political management and its courage in world affairs, *Human Events* gives heart and direction to conservatives. As long as it persists, we may hope that our day will yet come."

C. C. MOSELEY, *Businessman*—"I have read *Human Events* with great interest since its inception and have been so impressed by the outstanding job it does of informing our conservative community concerning the problems confronting our nation every day that I have subscribed for many of my friends."

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, *Author and Syndicated Columnist*—"During the quarter-century of its existence, *Human Events* has kept the torch of freedom burning, notably at times when other Americans, misguided or over-optimistic, have sought to replace it by a torch of peace. This is a great achievement."

SEN. KARL E. MUNDT (*R.-S.D.*)—"Whether it be a background analysis of the forces at play within and without America shaping foreign policy, or an in-depth exposure of under-the-table dealings designed to siphon away tax dollars from legitimate use, or a simple barb deflating the pomposity of some power-hungry political figure, the impact of *Human Events* has been a forceful voice for national liberty and individual freedom. No one can measure the contributions of *Human Events* in helping the citizens of this free nation better understand the swift-moving events which have enveloped our world in this quarter of a century. Fortunately it is not necessary to gauge these contributions, for the fact that this is the 25th Anniversary observance of the publication speaks well of its influence and foreshadows its continuing importance in the coming years."

SEN. GEORGE MURPHY (*R.-Calif.*)—"As you well know, I am a consistent and avid reader of *Human Events* and find it of special importance not only in helping to form decisions, but also in keeping well-informed on the many matters which daily concern all of us."

FREDERIC NELSON, *former Editor, Editorial Page, Saturday Evening Post*—"I take in, as the British put it, three newspapers every day, but still find in *Human Events* important news which eluded all of them."

ARTHUR C. NIELSEN SR., *Chairman, A.C. Nielsen Co.*—"According to my observations, *Human Events* has made substantial contributions to our country in many ways. By keeping its readers well informed about many operations of government—operations very unlikely to come to their notice through other channels. By equipping teachers, ministers of the gospel and other influential persons with important, interesting facts and ideas which they can and do pass on to their students and congregations. By providing political workers with information which not only results in a great increase in their effectiveness, but also inspires them to work more actively for the important causes in which they believe. In these and other ways *Human Events* is playing an important and effective role in slowing the growth of government where further growth is unjustified, increasing the efficiency of government by exposing flagrant cases of waste and improving the morality of government by exposing unethical conduct."

PETER O'DONNELL JR., *Chairman, Republican Party of Texas*—"I find *Human Events* to be very valuable because it gives excerpts of important news from a wide range of publications."

OTTO F. OTEPKA, *Member-Designate, Subversive Activities Control Board*—"On the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of *Human Events*, I feel greatly honored as a government employe to offer my views on the services your publication has contributed as encouragement to every federal employe who exercises his rights in the interest of principles that have always been a part of our national heritage. I have been a reader of *Human Events* since 1946 and I know from such experience that you have consistently maintained the highest standards of reportorial integrity and accuracy in presenting current news about matters that affect our national security. I can also say from my own experiences that the American people need a publication like *Human Events* to tell them the facts about national affairs which they are entitled to know that frequently are absent from the columns of many daily newspapers."

JOHN H. PLATTS, *President, Whirlpool Corp.*—"It is with great interest that I look forward to receiving each issue of *Human Events*. While I frequently find my posture on a subject somewhat more liberal than that of the *Human Events* staff—nonetheless, their points of view are objectively presented and fully researched."

STEFAN T. POSSONY, *Director, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace*—"*Human Events* is one of the most informative publications in the United States. It has provided a forum for the discussion of issues which are shunned by our mass media, and it has contributed a great deal to the clarification of public issues. *Human Events* seeks the truth, not cheap popularity."

EUGENE C. PULLIAM, *Publisher, Phoenix Republic and Gazette*—"I have long admired *Human Events*' ability to dig behind the news headlines and come up with significant information that is otherwise often ignored or distorted. Your enterprising writers, reporters and researchers have illuminated many dark corners of government and politics."

MAX RAFFERTY, *Superintendent of Public Instruction and Director of Education, State of California*—"There are few publications today which carry a constant standard of human values to which the wise and the honest may repair. I have always looked on *Human Events* as a medium of communication which is unique in that it consistently stresses the all-too-often-forgotten fact that in this life, this world, this universe, there are certain eternal truths, certain lasting values, certain positive standards which the founders of our country found essential in building the American dream. To a conservative who values above all other things the preservation of eternal verities, *Human Events* comes literally as a godsend."

GOV. RONALD REAGAN *of California*—"Please accept my congratulations on the 25th Anniversary of *Human Events*. Your efforts during the past quarter of a century have paid tremendous dividends by keeping concerned Americans aware of the critical events and issues of our time. I know you will continue on your course of informing our citizens and making further contributions to better government in the years ahead."

REP. JOHN J. RHODES (*R.-Ariz.*)—"In its 25 years of publication, *Human Events* has fulfilled a vital need. It has been a voice of enlightened conservative philosophy. So much time and space has been devoted to explaining and expounding the philosophy which advocates centralization and big government that opposing philosophies have by comparison received little in the way of exposure and explanation. In fact, without publications such as *Human Events*, this generation of Americans might not have been cognizant of the existence of a philosophy dedicated to the freedom of the individual, under law, with a concept that the government should only do for the people those things which the people cannot do for themselves."

VICTOR RIESEL, *Syndicated Columnist*—"When in the course of *Human Events* one reads and is intrigued by, edition after edition, issues and crusades, on the foibles and mores, on the corner-cutters and political wheelers and dealers, one knows he has heard the reasonable voice of the rational right, the incontrovertible conservative, the check-and-balancer of a society seared by short-order, philosophical cooks and semi-skilled intellectuals. What is exhilarating about *Human Events* are the enemies it keeps—and keeps. Its opponents and critics, generally the voices of gloom and doom which rarely materialize, it seems to me, have been consistently wrong. During the 25 years of *Human Events*' existence it has been consistently right. Not strident. Just right, while its louder critics later mumblingly forget how wrong they've been. It has raked the muck of politics strewn by the extremists. It has therefore been the target of those who hide behind the rhetoric of vituperation, shouted from ivory towers. So it has been an exciting 25 years. Here's to another hard-hitting quarter-century—and more and more."

W. F. ROCKWELL, *Honorary Chairman, North American Rockwell Corp.*—

(Continued on following page)

"The shocking decline in morals, the fearsome increase in crime rates, the disastrous inflation, and the increasing bureaucracy in our government have been duly recorded in *Human Events*, and will be available to the historians and philosophers of the future. If this nation retains its position as the greatest in this world, both in its peacetime pursuits and in its military powers, it will be because it has returned from its atheistic and Communistic course to its original religious and constitutional principles."

WILLIAM A. RUSHER, *Publisher, National Review*—"I had the privilege of knowing Frank Hanighen and Jim Wick personally, and know the ability and rock-like integrity that both of them brought to the task of reporting the Washington scene. In Bob Kephart, Tom Winter and Allan Ryskind they have three sturdy young successors capable of carrying on in the great tradition."

REP. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG (*R.-Wis.*)—"Your publication has been at the forefront of helping to present the Washington scene to my constituents. Because you 'tell it like it is,' thousands of people throughout the United States are getting information which they would not receive from any other source. You fill a needed vacuum in the area of communications."

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, *Author*—"As a regular reader of *Human Events* for 24 years, I have found it indispensable for accurate news often overlooked by other publications. It is consistently reliable and interesting, and it is an inspiring example of fearless journalism at its best."

EMERSON P. SCHMIDT, *Economic Consultant*—"The editors of *Human Events* provide a rich alloy of carefully researched information on government agencies and politics, which is largely ignored or overlooked by other news media. Its stable of hard-digging columnists furnishes a vast panorama of fact and sharp analysis. The format makes for easy and comfortable reading."

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER, *Author and Columnist*—"It is astonishing to note but pleasant to reflect that *Human Events* has been published for a quarter-century and will celebrate its 25th Anniversary in April. It was the spark needed to enliven and enlighten the Washington scene, and to report to the country the Conservative view of our government. I personally became aware of its courage and dedication when more than 10 years ago it carried and reprinted my controversial piece on the Dominican Republic and Trujillo: 'Where Communists Fear to Tread.' It has also been gratifying to watch its growing influence in governmental circles as shown by the congressional contributors. I am very pleased to have been able to contribute in a small way to its influence and expansion."

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GEN. ARTHUR G. TRUDEAU, *Assistant to the Chairman, North American Rockwell Corp.*—"As a long-time subscriber to *Human Events*, I extend my congratulations to you and all concerned as the 25th Anniversary approaches. I am sure this fine little paper, from the time of its founder, has provided invaluable information to its readers and has helped to support a strong constitutional stand against the ravages of the growing welfare and Socialist state."

RICHARD A. VIGUERIE, *President, Richard A. Viguerie Co.*—"*Human Events* was one of the first conservative publications brought to my attention as a young person while I was in the process of forming my political opinions. To a large extent I owe my commitment to free enterprise and anti-communism to *Human Events*."

PROF. LUDWIG VON MISES, *New York University*—"Nothing is for all of the people more important than the preservation of the fundamental human right, the right of the individual to choose the way in which he plans to integrate himself into the system of human society. In this fight for freedom and against totalitarian enslavement of all, *Human Events* has accomplished a brilliant job. All true friends of freedom and prosperity do hope that *Human Events* and its brilliant contributors will be no less successful in these endeavors in the coming years."

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REP. ALBERT WATSON (*R.-S.C.*)—"In an age in which many of our traditional values and institutions have been toppled by the various coalitions of the Left, *Human Events* continues to stand guard over the principles which have made America great. This remarkable publication has championed constitutional government, patriotism, devotion to duty, frugality in government, and the other virtues of the American spirit. I am convinced that if *Human Events* reached every home in America, the influence of the so-called 'Liberal Establishment' would be substantially diminished and the voices of reason would be heeded by those in authority throughout our land."

JOHN WAYNE, *Actor*—"I find *Human Events* to be a publication that prints the facts concerning current issues and commonsense opinions to be gleaned from these facts. May they have another 25 years! That'll take care of me, at least."

HON. CHARLES E. WHITTAKER, *former Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court*—"I have found *Human Events* to be very responsible, and I believe that, over the years, it has been of great value to the conservative community."

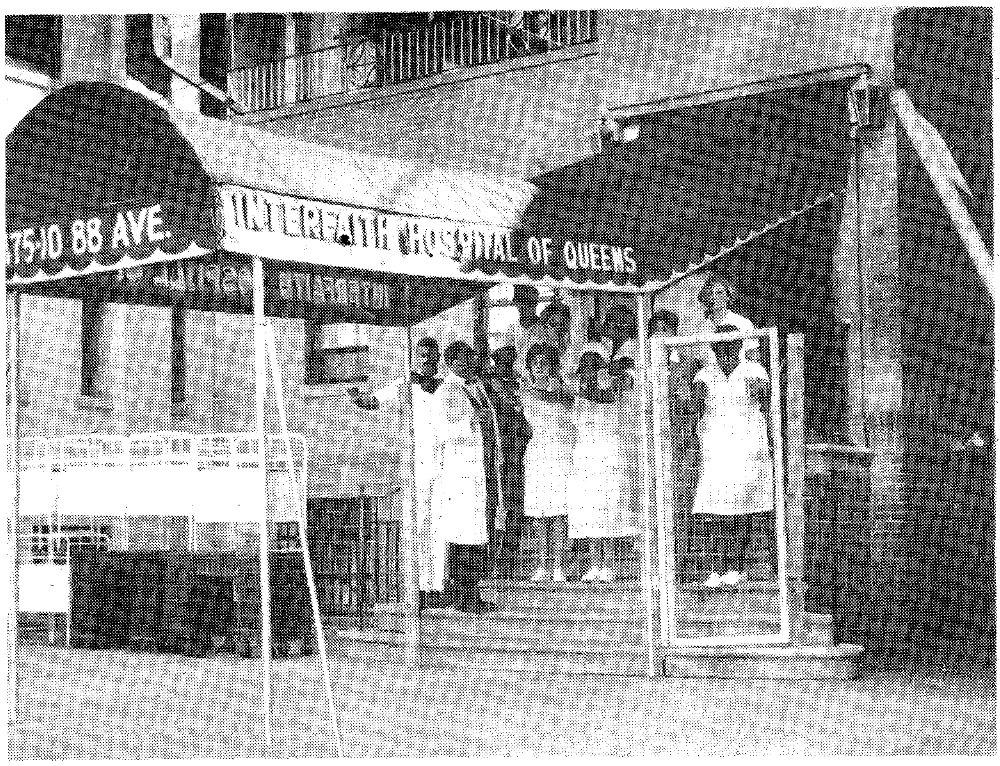
ALICE WIDENER, *Editor, U.S.A. Magazine, Columnist*—"During the 25 years that *Human Events* has grown from a little to a big publication, the quality of its contribution to freedom and to sound, conservative thinking has been enormous. In a quarter-century of managed news in Washington, D.C., *Human Events* has remained unmanaged; that is, an independent voice, not a puppet with strings attached. In my judgment *Human Events* has played a unique role in maintaining a free press in our beloved nation."

ERNEST L. WILKINSON, *President, Brigham Young University*—"Congratulations on the 25th Anniversary of *Human Events*. This spans a period of time when the trend of government has been in many ways at variance with the principles of our Founding Fathers and the principles of liberty. Never, therefore, was there a time when *Human Events* was as necessary as during this period. In such periods of change there is a tendency for all of us to lose our moorings, but *Human Events* has helped me, as I am sure it has helped thousands, to keep my feet on the ground and not lose sight of the concepts which have made our country great."

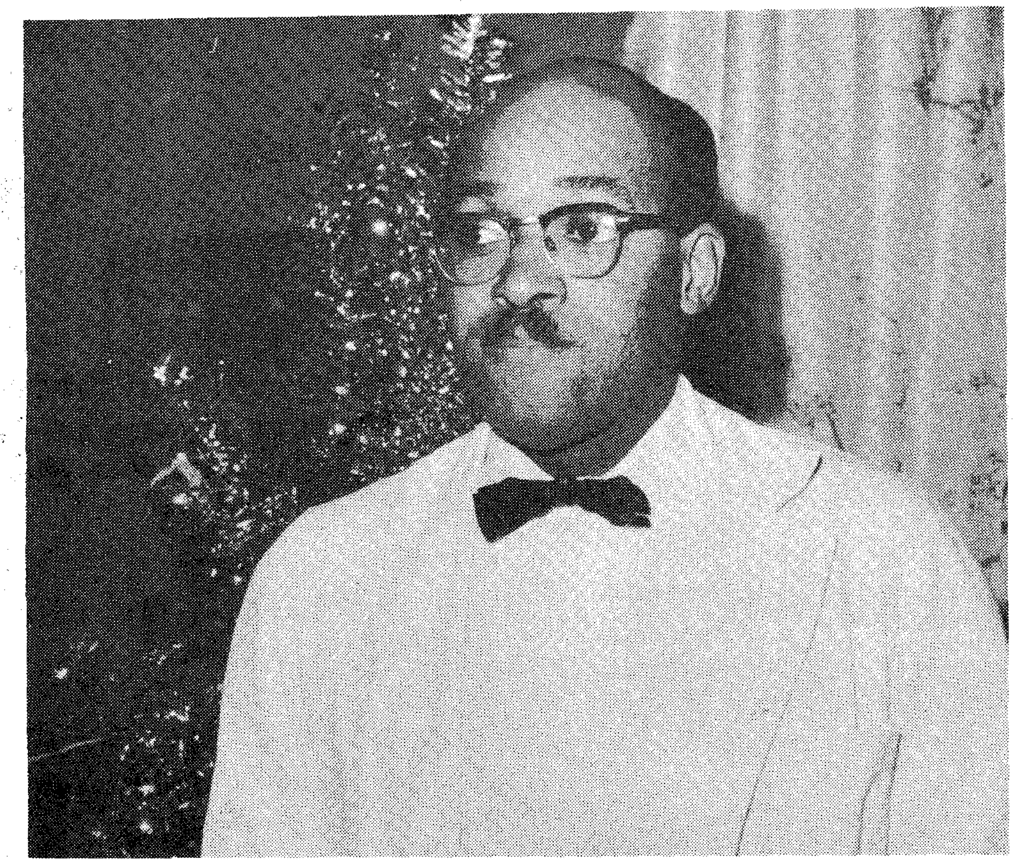
REP. BOB WILSON (*R.-Calif.*) *Chairman, Republican Congressional Committee*—"Congratulations! Throughout the course of political events over the past quarter-century, a time of vast change in America, *Human Events* has stood as a steadfast reminder of our constitutional form of government. As the Declaration of Independence from which its name is taken gave notice that the American Colonies would 'declare their cause,' *Human Events* has never failed to take positions on the various political issues which have transpired since it began publication. After 25 years *Human Events* continues as the voice of conservative policies. Thorough reporting, astute editing and unchanging principle have gained it recognition in the publishing field. I add my congratulations to those of my colleagues in Congress and the many Americans who are among its readers."

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, *former Chairman, Sears Roebuck Co.*—"I have been a reader of *Human Events* from the time it was first published and have a very high regard for it. I think its views are useful and beneficial to the nation and are of value to the conservative community."

LOYD WRIGHT, *Attorney, former President, American Bar Association*—"*Human Events* is an indispensable instrument for alerting the people of America to what really goes on in Washington. I congratulate the people of America on the 25th Anniversary of your splendid newspaper. I find it gives me information that I cannot get out of the press which is essential to an understanding of the things that really take place in our capital. As a citizen, devoted to my country, I am most appreciative of what you have done throughout your 25 years. Congratulations."



Dr. Thomas Matthew's Interfaith Hospital in New York was one of the first major efforts in self-help programs for Negroes.



Thomas Matthew points out that his programs have received more support from conservative office holders than from liberals.

Private Efforts Do Work

By ALLAN BROWNFELD

The eight years of the New Frontier and the Great Society have brought more Americans to the realization that the many ills of society cannot be solved by actions initiated by the federal government. They have come to believe, in fact, that government interference is a major problem in itself.

After more than 30 years of government policy based upon the view that action from Washington will solve the nation's problems, we find that our problems have increased.

Government involvement in housing has cost us billions, but housing is a more pressing problem today than in the 1930s. Involvement in welfare programs has been equally costly, yet there is more concern with poverty today than before. After many years of federal aid to and involvement in education, there are more criticisms of inequitable school facilities than ever before.

The fact is that we are witnessing the beginning of a new political consensus, one which rejects government as the answer to all social, political and economic problems. Prime movers in fashioning this new consensus are many of the advocates of the old. Liberals have become disillusioned with the programs they once advanced as virtual panaceas for our social ills.

Expressing something of the growing liberal disillusionment with big government, Prof. Hans Morganthau of the University of Chicago stated, "The general crisis of democracy is the result of three factors: the shift of effective material power from the people to the government, the shift of effective power of decision from the people to the government and the ability of the government to destroy its citizens in the process of defending them."

Morganthau notes that " . . . the great national decisions of life and death are rendered by technological elites, and both the Congress and the people at large retain little more than the illusion of making the decisions which the theory of democracy supposes them to make."

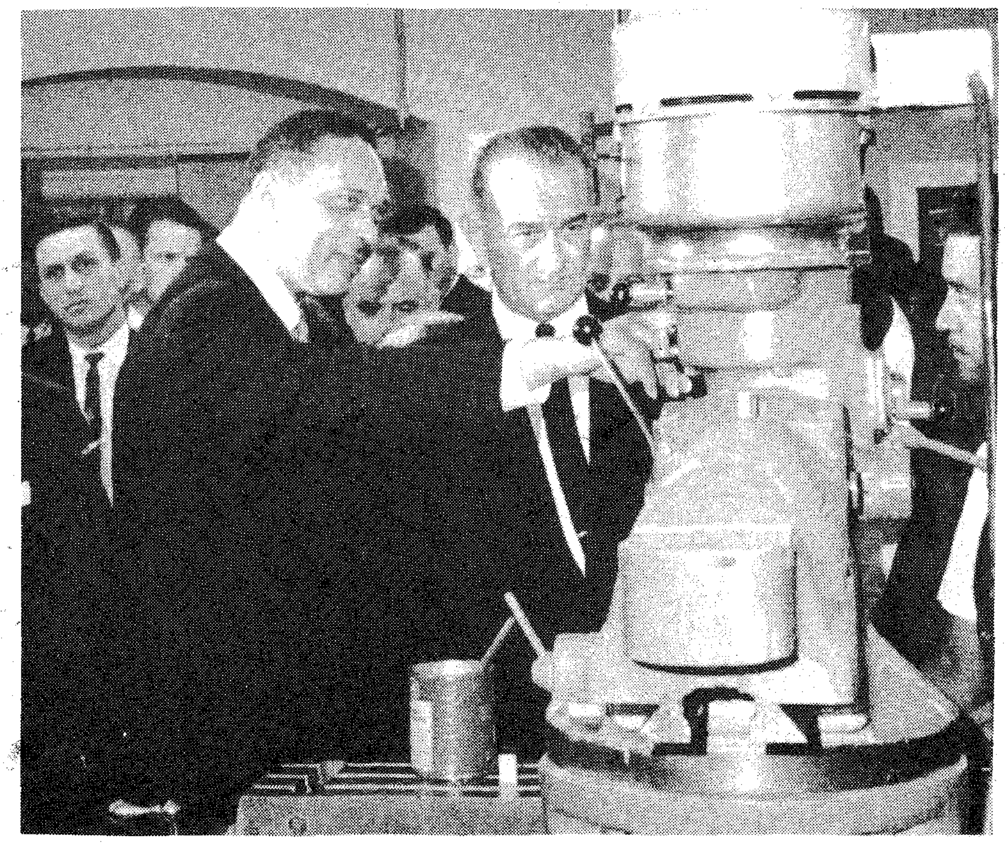
Hans Morganthau is far from being alone. In a speech before the National Board of the Americans for Democratic Action, Daniel Moynihan, formerly an adviser to President Kennedy and now President Nixon's special assistant on Urban Problems, offered three propositions which are relevant to the growing liberal-conservative dialogue.

" . . . It is necessary to seek out and make much more effective alliances with political conservatives," he said, and urged liberals to " . . . divest themselves of the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington." His third point called for liberals to " . . . somehow overcome the curious condescension which takes the form of sticking up for and explaining away anything, however outrageous, which Negroes, individually or collectively, might do."

Moynihan also expressed support for the traditional conservative view that the voluntary sector of the economy should help to solve domestic problems: "We must begin getting private business

(Continued on following page)

The Rev. Leon Sullivan, a prime mover in a private Philadelphia effort to rehabilitate slum dwellers, confers at top with President Nixon, while in 1967 he shows off his Opportunities Industrialization Center to President Johnson.



About the Author

Allan Brownfeld, a member of the faculty of the University College of the University of Maryland, was formerly assistant to the research director of the House Republican Conference. He is also the author of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee's study of the New Left and a weekly columnist for **Roll Call**, a newspaper about activities on Capitol Hill. His articles have appeared in many national magazines and he is a frequent speaker and debater before college and civic group audiences.

involved in domestic programs in a much more systematic, purposeful manner. Making money is one thing Americans are good at, and the corporation is their favorite device for doing so. What aerospace corporations have done for getting us to the moon, urban housing corporations can do for the slums. All that is necessary . . . is to enable enough men to make enough money out of doing so."

The measures advocated for some time in the field of housing are an important example of the failure of an approach which tends to use the tax dollars of some citizens in an attempt to fulfill the needs of others. Neither group is benefited and society itself is the loser.

Jason R. Nathan, New York City housing and development administrator, told former Sen. Paul Douglas' National Commission on Urban Problems that "The entire concept of federal aid as we know it may be completely wrong." Nathan, a former federal housing official, stated that "Even if the federal government spent 10 times the money they do now—which they won't—it would not be enough. After 10 or 15 years of traditional programs, for example, we have not even begun to approach the problem in Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn."

Urban renewal programs, as a case in point, were meant to ease the problem of low-cost housing scarcity. Exactly the opposite has happened.

Richard Cloward of the Columbia University School of Social Work, in a publication issued by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, offers this statistical summary: "Since the public housing program was legislated in 1933, some 600,000 low-income housing units have been built, but in the last 15 years urban renewal and highway construction alone have demolished 700,000 low-rental units. . . . In this same period, urban renewal has built at the most 100,000 new units. So . . . the net loss in low-income housing is probably about 250,000 units."

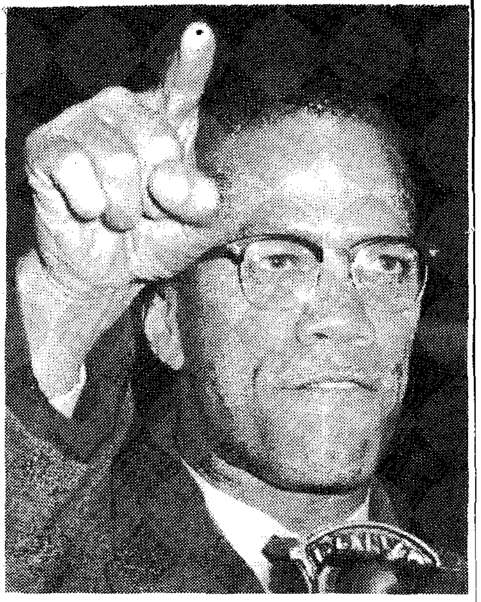
An example of this situation is the Hough neighborhood in Cleveland. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that federal projects in Cleveland had drastically reduced the amount of low-rent housing in the city and contributed to the creation of a new ghetto. Out of the resentments which were produced a new bitterness grew, culminating ultimately in riots.

Commenting on the Cleveland developments, Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame and now head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, said: "These enormous federal programs . . . are coming in supposedly to help the community. They want to rebuild our society. What has happened in many cases is that people who are presently in the worst situation have their houses swept out from under them by bulldozers, they are given very little help in finding other houses and they generally do worse than where they came from. This is immoral."

The welfare state philosophy has not given people a stake in their communities or the hope of a better future. Liberal Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York, said that the welfare state philosophy inherent in the "War on Poverty" is an "immoral bag of tricks" amounting to a new form of slavery. He stated that "The problem for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and poor whites . . . is that America has no commitment to turn muscle power into skills." Too often society is content to appropriate funds, and put people on a dole.

In his *Autobiography*, Malcolm X addressed these words to white liberals, those he found most guilty of supporting the idea of a dole for the ghetto:

"If . . . [they] wanted more to do, they could work on the roots of such ghetto evils as the little children out in the streets at midnight with apartment keys on strings around their necks to let themselves in, and their mothers and fathers drunk, drug addicts, thieves, and prostitutes . . . one thing the white man can never give the black man is self-respect. The black man never can become independent and recognized as a human being who is truly equal with other human beings until he has what they have, and until he is doing for himself what others are doing for themselves."



The late Black Muslim leader Malcolm X had some stinging comments on the role of white liberals in stamping out ghetto poverty.

Malcolm X urged liberals to " . . . light some fires under Northern city halls, unions and major industries to give more jobs to Negroes to remove so many of them from the relief and welfare rolls, which created laziness, and which deteriorated the ghettoes into steadily worse places for humans to live. . . ."

More and more Negro leaders have come to the realization that government is not going to solve any of their real problems. They are rapidly turning away from the standard liberal responses of a previous generation.

Thomas B. Jones, a Negro economist in New York, has stated, "The economic problems of the Negro have not been solved by government programs or a changing attitude on the part of the power structure. The Negro, therefore, decided that self-development is a practical, realizable approach to the solution of his problems."

Dr. Thomas Matthew, leader of the National Economic and Growth Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO) received a franchise to operate a bus line in California, but not in New York. His response: "We got the fullest cooperation from Gov. Reagan and Mayor Yorty. You see, those with a less liberal viewpoint are really happy with our efforts. Many of them never believed that we would help ourselves. They're willing to give us a chance, though, and we are making the most of it. Many liberals like Mayor Lindsay want to do it for the Negro and not

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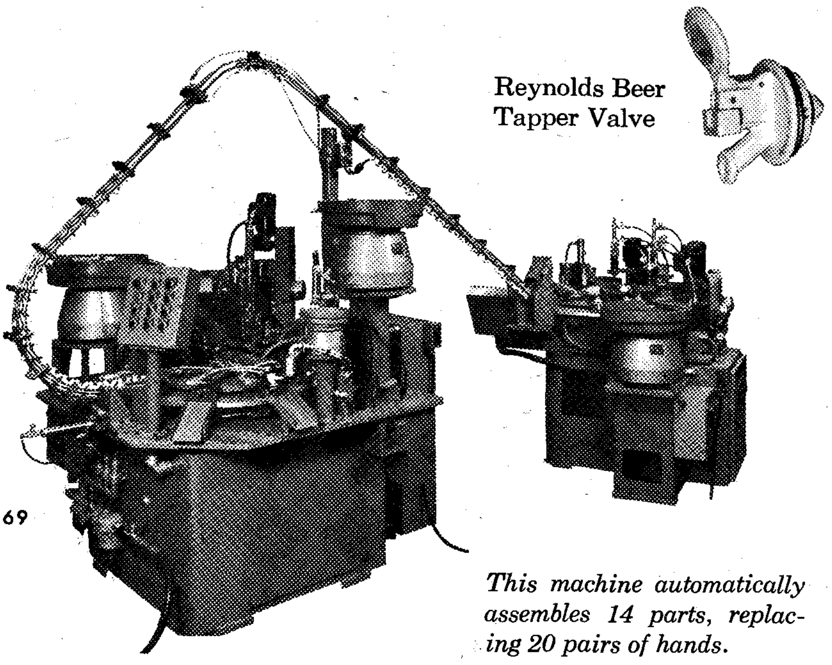

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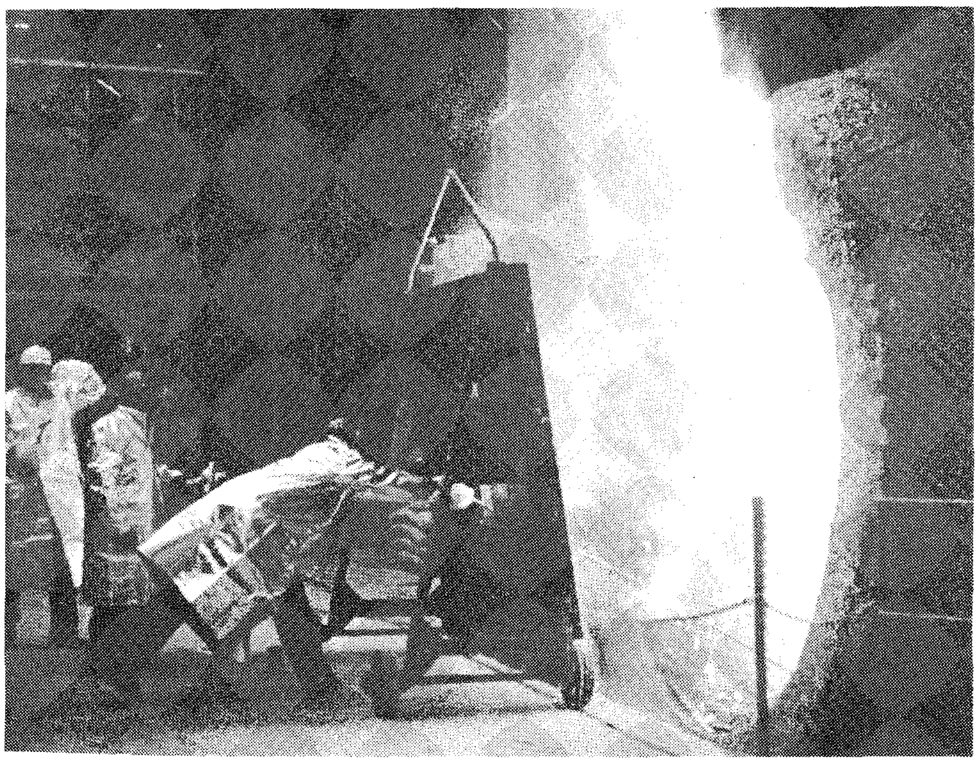


Despite the increasing automation of heavy industry, there is still much need for unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
ELEPHANT

Obviously the need for education is apparent in helping disadvantaged persons.

et him do it for himself. That's why, t this point, it's easier to work with onservatives.''

In his important book, *Reclaiming the American Dream*, Richard Cornuelle has pointed the direction in which Americans may go in really attempting to cope with the problems of a modern, technological society. Discussing the American tradition of independent, as opposed to government, action, Cornuelle notes that "There was . . . no social machinery of any kind on the frontier and Americans had to improvise. They set up a rich variety of private organizations to dig canals, set up schools and seminaries, and do a hundred other things. Over the years this tradition grew into a powerful third force in America . . . between our commercial sector (our business) and our government sector grew up an unusual third, independent sector.''

The source of the independent sector's strength is the energy of the people. George Gallup claims that 61 million adult Americans would like to go to work to improve their communities if they knew how. And if the hours they say they would contribute are added up, the total comes to 245 million hours a week—equal to the total annual working time of all employes in five of our largest industries: automobiles, food processing, clothing, railroads and department stores.

In a recent volume, *The New Conservative-Liberal Manifesto*, co-authored by Cornuelle and now Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch, a number of successful enterprises entered into by private citizens are presented as examples of how the nation's problems may be approached.

At the rate of 2,000 a year, previously chronically unemployed persons in Indianapolis are landing and holding steady, productive jobs. The program began in 1965 when the Center for Independent Action joined forces with the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Volunteers—men and women from business, from college, from churches, from fraternal organizations, from trade unions—were enlisted and trained to counsel the unemployed on a one-to-one basis.

The volunteer helps his job-seeker discover his employable talents, shows him how he can sell them to waiting employers, and how he must produce on the job to hold it. Over 500 Indianapolis citizens have signed up for the Volunteer Advisory Corps.

There are many other examples. Warner and Swasey Co., maker of lathes and earth-moving equipment, spent over $100,000 to renovate an apartment building that the company purchased for $15,000 in the heart of the Hough area. It hardly seemed the area for investment.

When the renovation was completed the company turned it over to a non-profit organization formed by two African Methodist Episcopal Churches for rental to low-income families. The Cleveland Trust Co. supplied the mortgage money and the Urban League counsels and advises the tenants. Said Dr. James C. Hodge, Warner and Swasey president, "I think we will demonstrate that the direct approach we are taking makes good sense and is good business.''

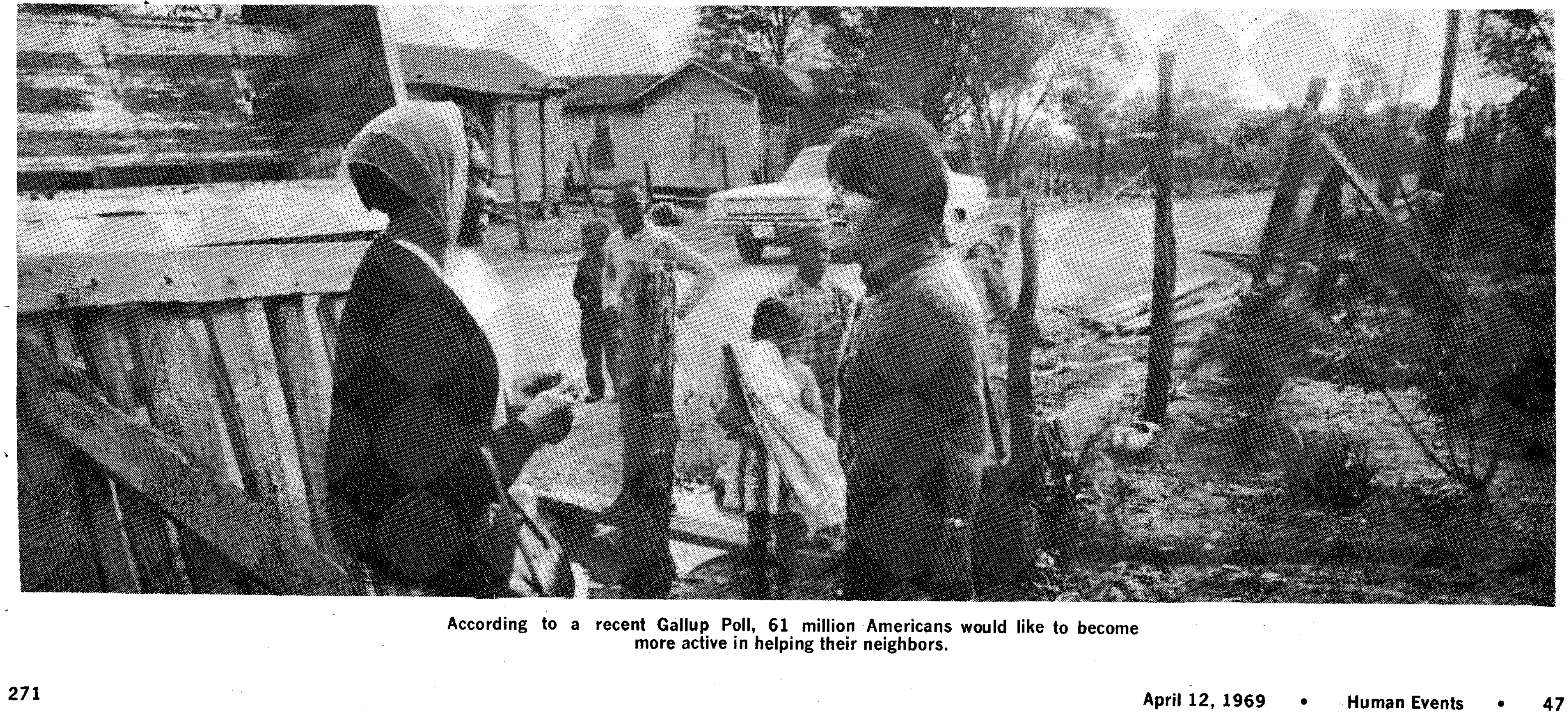
Liberal columnist Murray Kempton has declared, "Only business cares any longer. . . . NAM puzzles over programs to train the poor for jobs. The life insurance industry offers a billion dollars to attack slum housing. The last refuge of the social conscience turns out to be those institutions which official liberalism has instructed us for 50 years were the most anti-social we had.''

Our government has been wedded to the political consensus developed in the days of the New Deal, a consensus which believed that increased government spending and planning would solve all problems.

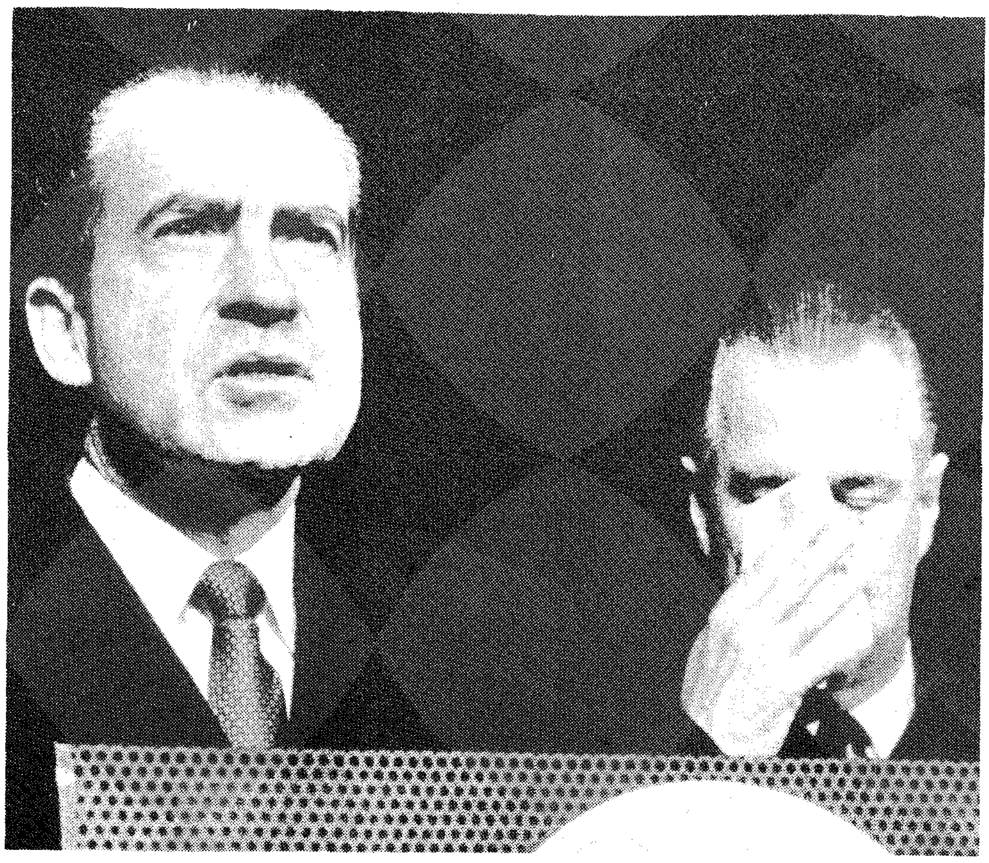
What was forgotten was that bureaucracy, especially government bureaucracy, rapidly becomes a law unto itself, unresponsive to the community, and under little pressure to produce affirmative results.

A new Administration, unburdened by this relic of the past, is in a good position to view the new problems of a new and little-understood society and seek to solve such problems. It is the ideology of government planning and federal control which has prevented us from using the talents and initiative of the independent sector. Now, with a new consensus, new progress can be made.

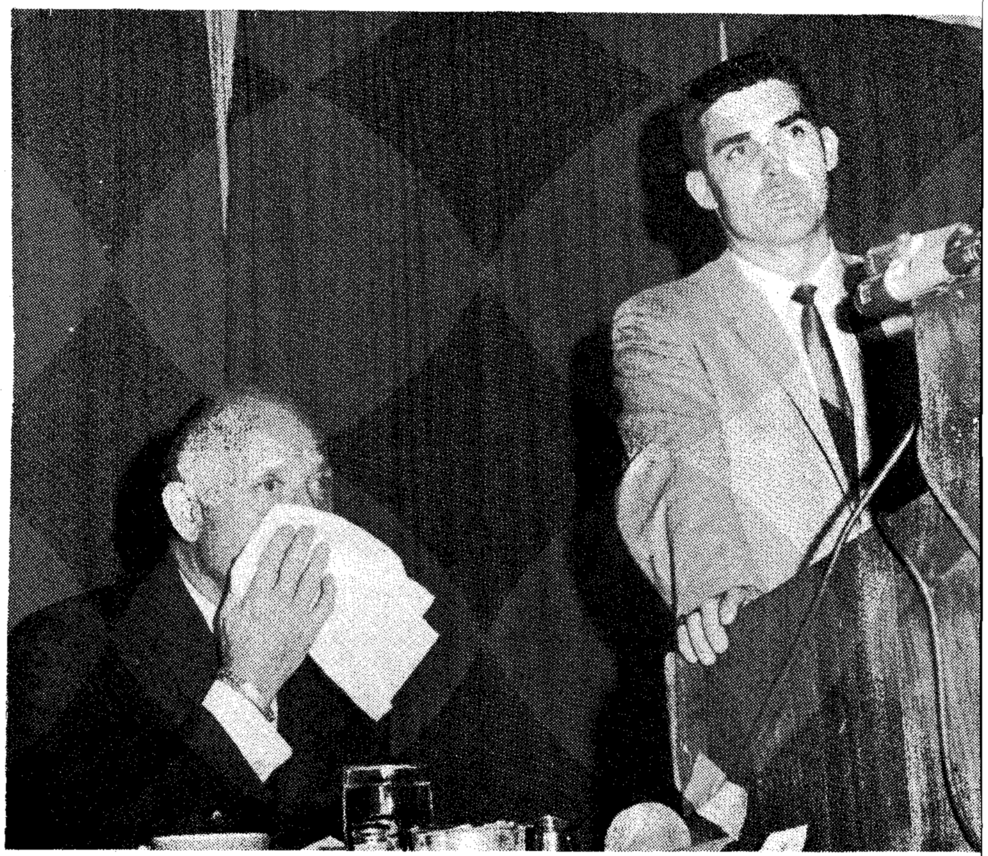
Richard Cornuelle (above) and Robert Finch have worked together on the "independent sector" approach.



According to a recent Gallup Poll, 61 million Americans would like to become more active in helping their neighbors.



President Nixon addresses a recent Washington audience:
"Let me make one thing absolutely clear: These malicious reports that I am muzzling Vice President Agnew are without foundation."



Liberal GOP Sen. Javits listens (?) as conservative GOP Rep. Donald Lukens speaks:
"'Tis not my speeches that you do mislike/But 'tis my presence that doth trouble ye"— Shakespeare.

Some Irreverent Predictions

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

Conservatives reviewing the past 25 years are no doubt glad to have the damn things out of the way and are much happier with the present and perhaps somewhat optimistic about the future. This may be justified, but there is still plenty of room for cautious apprehension.

Assuredly there were few conservatives within 100 yards of the White House 25 years ago, but now some are to be found right in the back yard. You can go right into the Executive Office Building, next door to the White House, and see their offices, all of them plainly marked by a skull and crossbones. The liberals' offices all have a "welcome" mat at the door and Nixon's own office has a "Do Not Disturb" sign on the knob; don't worry, though, he's left a wake-up call for 1972.

It's reported that the last conservative hired on the White House staff was named so the others would have a fourth for bridge.

It's not that the conservatives working in the Administration are given nothing to do; they have been handed a number of assignments by the President. But, honestly now, how long does it take to drive Spiro to his Capitol Hill office?

But things could be worse. Ronald Reagan could have been elected President and think of how many liberals *he'd* have to hire before the press would say he's doing a good job. But, if this had happened, Bob Finch would today be governor of California and could ask the university at Berkeley for a meaningful desegregation plan: an equal number of crazy and sane students.

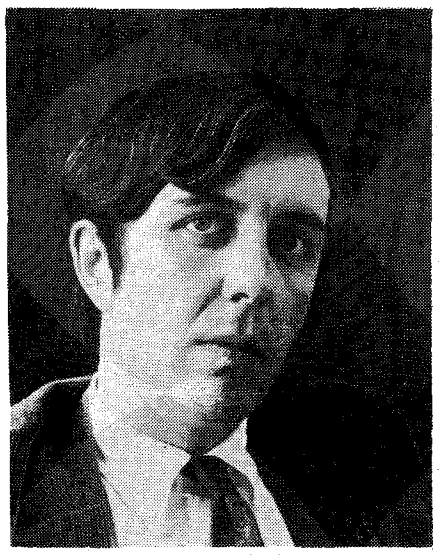
Looking to the future at this time is a chancy undertaking. In 15 years 1984 will be here and we'll be able to see how clear George Orwell's crystal ball was. If Big Brother is not watching us by then, it will only be because he's off making a dirtee peekture with Big Sister; as usual, the Great White Father will be doing the watching over us.

But the trend toward forced centralization of power which Orwell predicted in *1984* is being reversed; decentralization and local control are now "In." Black youths in the cities want to control their schools, white students at universities want to control their schools, and parents everywhere want to control their children. After all, the main reason the government's trying to put Dr. Spock in jail is so parents can have their kids back.

However, with our firmly crossed fingers testing the winds of change we must resolutely attempt to decipher what the mystical future has in store. Remember that, had you predicted 25 years ago some of the events that have happened in the interim, nobody would have believed you. With this in mind, and with nary a nod in the direction of Jeanne Dixon, I unhesitatingly make a few forecasts for the future:

- The wage-price spiral will continue upward, until it is taller than the Empire State Building. At this time it will be declared a National Landmark and be removed to Fort Knox for safekeeping.
- Ted Kennedy will run for the presidency of the United States, the only question being whether or not he can wait until 1972. If he cannot, the Constitution will have to be changed so he can run in 1971.
- John-John Kennedy will not run for the U.S. presidency. He will join the Greek army and be promoted to the presidency of Greece.
- During a renovation of the Capitol building, workmen will discover that the debt ceiling is a phony and that the real ceiling collapsed five years ago under the weight of a ton of fool's gold.
- John Lindsay will continue to be a political force—in his family. That is, unless wife Mary decides to run against him in a family primary.
- Nelson Rockefeller will be re-elected New York governor in 1970, again in 1974, again in 1978, again in 1982. . . . Eventually New Yorkers will discover their governor has been dead for five years and that the government was being run out of Madison Avenue.
- Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-Shek will pass away within two days of each other and six billion Chinese will wander around the world looking for a leader. Eventually they will be rescued by an ambitious New York City laundry owner who will start a revolutionary movement based on the slogan "a boiling shirt in every pot"; his followers will carry his thoughts carefully inscribed on a red-bordered laundry ticket.
- The United States will not recognize Red China. After all, the way it daily changes its complexion, and because so few have ever seen it up close, who could recognize it?
- It will be discovered that the current worldwide "student revolution" is indeed an international conspiracy, run out of Zurich by an expatriate Lebanese homosexual dwarf who has been angry at colleges in general ever since he received an "F" in Advanced Sanskrit at the University of Beirut.
- Liberals will continue to oppose deployment of defense weapons and other forms of national security; the reason being that they enjoy their guilt feelings, and how can you feel good guilt when you're secure?
- The "War on Poverty" will be revised, redesigned and re-directed in a more realistic approach to the problem. It will also be more correctly renamed "The War on Wealth."
- Federal expenditures will continue to mount until fiscal year 1983 when the government's budget will equal the total amount of money then in circulation in the United States. The White House will decide to suspend all government services and redistribute all the money available by flinging it from a fleet of helicopters deployed across the nation. The people, however, will decide they want nothing to do with the filthy stuff and hubcaps will become the new monetary unit.
- Fighting will continue in Southeast Asia, not because of U.S. involvement or Communist aggression, but because Asians love to fight.
- As a further precaution against Soviet attack, the U.S. government will erect a high tariff barrier composed of cotton and steel. Soviet warheads will thus be easily repulsed and there will be a big boom in Canadian real estate.
- U.S. policy toward Europe will continue to be based on the same principle as it has in the past: extreme flexibility. NATO will eventually be transformed into a military retirement home and the Common Market will have to start giving away trading stamps to attract customers.

About the Author



Born in North Rose, N.Y., and a graduate of the University of Miami (Fla.), Terry Catchpole served as an assistant editor of **Human Events** for most of 1964. He left to become a campaign manager for a Republican congressional candidate in his home state. Returning to Washington after the election, Mr. Catchpole worked as a free-lance writer and authored the book, **How to Cope with COPE**, before rejoining the staff of **Human Events** as a contributing editor in 1967. His articles have appeared in **The Washingtonian**, **National Review**, the **New Guard**, **Good Housekeeping**, and Globe Publications. He also writes the material for the Etcetera Revue, a satirical political show appearing in Georgetown. The show is the longest-running satirical revue in hard-to-please, politically sophisticated Washington.

Conservative Books Over the Last Quarter Century

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

What are the best 25 conservative books published during the last 25 years?

Pride of place, in this writer's opinion, belongs to Friedrich A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, which rang out like a trumpet call at a time when World War II had tilted the scales heavily in favor of collectivism and state controls of one kind and another. For a war economy tends to be a totalitarian economy, in which the state directs everyone to his appointed place, in which rationing replaces the free choice of the individual and government planning and direction supplant the free market and the direction of investment in line with profitability.

Friedrich Hayek had seen this process beginning to prevail in his native Austria. Moving first to England, then to America, he keenly felt the irony of totalitarian methods infiltrating the very countries which were in arms for the avowed purpose of destroying totalitarianism.

Hayek had long been a highly respected academic economist, not an author whose writings reached a wide public. With *The Road to Serfdom* he became the standard-bearer in a crusade for the return to what he regarded as the cherished values of Western civilization: the rule of law, the free market against state planning, freedom for the individual to plan his life and care for his family without being checked and curbed at every turn by the whims of bureaucrats and the excessive grasping of tax collectors.

In this tract for the times Hayek mobilizes all his considerable reserves of moral passion, backed by enormous erudition. He finds in Adam Smith this telling rebuke to the arrogance of supposedly all-knowing and all-wise economic and financial planners:

"The statesman who should attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals would not only load himself with a most unnecessary attention, but assume an authority which could safely be entrusted to no council and senate whatever, and which would nowhere be so dangerous as in the hands of a man who had folly and presumption enough to fancy himself fit to exercise it."

One of the basic fallacies of socialism, that the evils of private monopoly can be cured by setting up the state as a supreme exclusive monopolist, is dissected as follows by Hayek:

"Our freedom of choice in a competitive society rests upon the fact that, if one person refuses to satisfy our wishes, we can turn to another. But if we face a monopolist we are at his mercy. And an authority directing the whole economic system would be the most powerful monopolist conceivable."

The moral case for an individualist, not a collectivist, economy is forthrightly stated as follows:

"The principle that the end justifies the means is in individualist ethics regarded as the denial of all morals. In collectivist ethics it becomes necessarily the supreme rule; there is literally nothing which the consistent collectivist must not be prepared to do if it serves 'the good of the whole,' because the 'good of the whole' is to him the only criterion of what ought to be done."

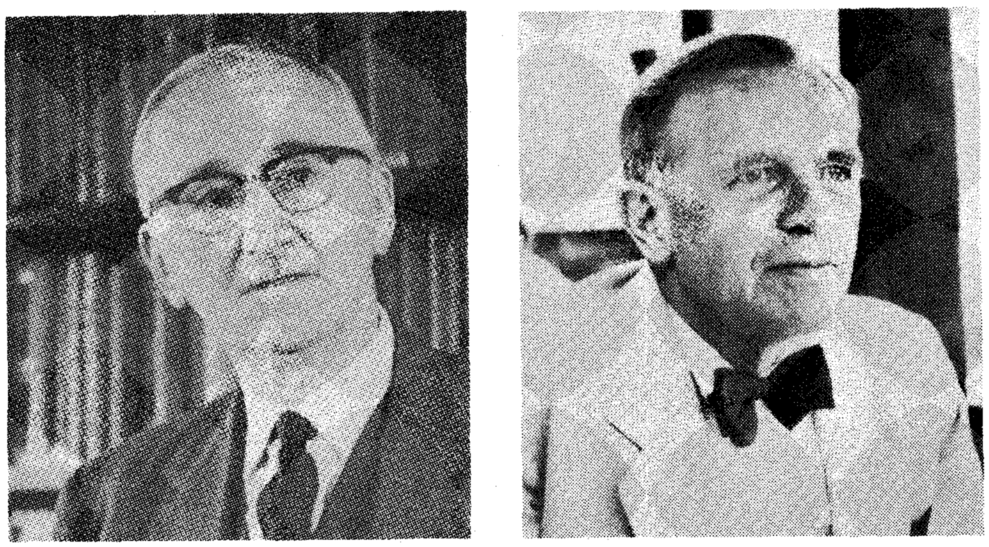
Although certainly a conservative by modern American definition (he shies away from the term and prefers to call himself an Old Whig), Hayek appreciates the values of 19th Century liberalism, which are diametrically opposed in many ways to those of what passes for liberalism today and brings out this point in one of the most eloquent and perceptive passages in *The Road to Serfdom*:

"For at least 25 years before the specter of totalitarianism became a real threat, we had been progressively moving away from the basic ideas on which Western civilization has been built. . . . We have progressively abandoned that freedom in economic affairs without which personal and political freedom has never existed in the past. Although we had been warned by some of the greatest political thinkers of the 19th Century, by de Tocqueville and Lord Acton, that socialism means slavery, we have steadily moved in the direction of socialism."

Somewhat later Hayek struck another blow for what may be called libertarian conservatism when he published *The Constitution of Liberty*. This is a work of careful scholarship and profound erudition in political science and moral philosophy, as well as economics.

As compared with *The Road to Serfdom*, swift-paced, hard-hitting, pamphleteering at its best, the later volume moves at a slower tempo and demands from the reader more intense and studious application. But the author's gifts of clear exposition and a readable style make the development of his ideas crystal clear.

Especially admirable is this definition of liberty: "That condition of men in which coercion of some by others is reduced as much as is possible in society."



Two academicians whose writings have profoundly influenced modern conservative thinking are Friedrich Hayek (left) and Wilhelm Roepke.

A seminal and permanently valuable contribution to recent conservative literature is Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*. Kirk gives a luminous exposition of conservative thought from Burke, object of his special admiration, to George Santayana, including two Americans whom he regards as authentic advocates of conservative values, John Adams and John C. Calhoun. The author offers interpretation as well as description. He presents this brief four-point conservative program for our time:

(*1*) An affirmation of the moral nature of society.

(*2*) The defense of property—property diffused and defined, property in the form of homes and pensions and corporate rights and private enterprises—strict surveillance of the leviathan business and the leviathan union.

(*3*) Preservation of local liberties, traditional private rights and the division of power; for, these gone, the Republic goes and there remains only the General Will of Rousseau.

(*4*) National humility. Conservative statesmen will accept their duties in the world, but with modesty and caution . . .; and they will remember that America's highest obligation in the affairs of nations is to provide the example of a decent, tranquil, prospering state, a Republic just and free, virtuous and permanent.

As a work calculated to acquaint readers with the varying ideas of conservatism during the last two centuries, showing how varying national conditions created differing emphases, for instance, in British and American conservative thought, Kirk's is perhaps the most rewarding.

Articulate American professors are apt to be found in the political left field. An exception is Prof. Jeffrey Hart of Dartmouth, whose *American Dissent* is a survey of a decade of American conservative ideas and attitudes.

One of his shining targets is the liberal, or left-wing double standard of morals, the tendency to wax selectively indignant over real or alleged acts of oppression by right-wing governments, while ignoring or praising with faint damns equivalent or far greater crimes against humanity by regimes that enjoy a good left-wing reputation. Hart notes that the Negro today has inherited the halo with which liberals and radicals were inclined to endow the proletariat in the 1930s. Or, to let this outspoken professor put his own case:

"Now that the masses have actually risen to power, the old romantic vision has faded; it is no longer possible even to the political Left to imagine that the Teamsters or even the Steelworkers are going to save us all from bourgeois corruption. The Negroes have become the heir of that old emotion. Like the old working class, they have been victimized; and therefore—'therefore' is the illogical step—they are the repositories of virtue and their claims are absolute."

Two brilliant economists, one a German by birth, self-exiled while the Nazis were in power, the other an Englishman, add their testimony to the conservative cause, each with two books.

Advocates of an ever bigger and more comprehensive welfare state take its morality for granted and try to brand its opponents as greedy and hard-hearted. But Wilhelm Roekpe, the son of a Lutheran minister and a man of deep moral conviction, bases his criticisms of the welfare state even more on moral than on economic grounds.

He sees in the ever-increasing handouts of the state to its citizens the destruction of man's independence and self-reliance, the triumph not of compassion, but of envy.

In Roepke's ideal society, outlined in his *A Humane Economy*, wealth would be widely dispersed; people's lives would have solid foundations; genuine communities, from the family upward, would furnish moral support to the individual; there would be a broad belt of an independent middle class, a healthy balance between town and country, industry and agriculture. Perhaps Roepke's ideal is most closely approached in his adopted country, Switzerland, where his death a few years ago was a serious international loss in morals and economics.

Anyone who has heard Roepke speak, as he often did at meetings of the Mont Pelerin Society, an international organization of economists and political scientists, remembers his incisive summing up of problems, his brilliant sallies against compulsory state planners and collectivists. Some of these are preserved in another of his books, *Economics of the Free Society*.

"Not with impunity can one take away from men the feeling that it is right to save, to put aside a reserve for themselves and their families, instead of spending everything and then calling upon the help of the state—the greatest spender of all—in time of need."

"Repressed inflation is a road which ends inevitably in chaos and paralysis."

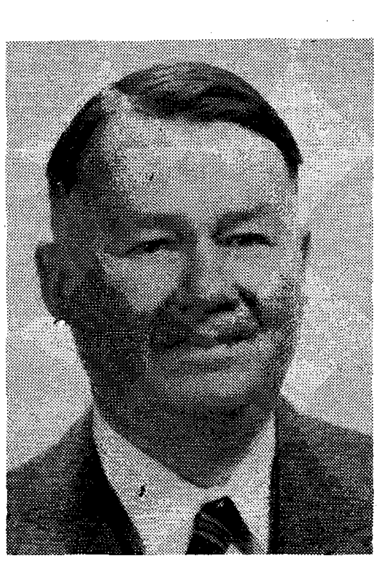
"Our economic system ought not to be made the scapegoat for the political sins of our generation."

The other economist is British John Jewkes, who has followed up a study of economic deprivations and deterioration under the first postwar Labour government, *Ordeal By Planning*, with *The New Ordeal By Planning*.

As Prof. Jewkes sees it, Britain learned nothing from the hardships im-

(*Continued on following page*)

About the Author



Mr. Chamberlin began his career as assistant magazine editor for the Philadelphia **Press**, moving on to become assistant book editor of the New York **Tribune**. He was associated with the **Christian Science Monitor** from 1922 to 1940 both as its Moscow and Far East correspondent. He has been a lecturer at Haverford College, Yale University, and since 1940 with the Civil Affairs Training School of Harvard University. Mr. Chamberlin has also contributed numerous articles and reviews to the **New Leader**, the **Wall Street Journal**, the **Reader's Digest**, **Human Events** and the **Saturday Review**. One of the nation's leading book reviewers, he is himself the author of many books, including **Collectivism—A Fake Utopia**, **Japan Over Asia**, **The Confessions of an Individualist**, **Canada, Today and Tomorrow**, **America's Second Crusade** and **The Evolution of a Conservative**.

posed by the highly regimented economy of the postwar Labour government. In his first book, published in 1947, Prof. Jewkes presents the heart of his case as follows:

"I believe that the recent melancholy decline of Great Britain is largely of our own making. The fall in our standard of living to a level which excites the pity and evokes the charity of many other richer countries, the progressive restrictions on individual liberties, the ever-widening destruction of respect for law, the steady sapping of our instinct for tolerance and compromise, the sharpening of class distinctions, our growing incapacity to play a rightful part in world affairs—these sad changes are not due to something which has happened in the past two years.

"At the root of our troubles lies the fallacy that the best way of ordering economic affairs is to place the responsibility for all crucial decisions in the hands of the state."

There was a distinct improvement, notably in the abolition of rationing, when the Conservative party replaced Labour as the government in 1951. But in the '60s the Conservatives, against the protests of conservatives with a small "c," like Enoch Powell, were bitten with the planning bug, beginning in 1961.

Naturally this trend did not diminish when Labour came back into office in 1964. So another book seemed in order to Prof. Jewkes. He states the main theme of his second book as follows:

"Within less than one generation British governments have twice fallen victim to the hallucination that they possess the knowledge and power positively to determine the rate of growth through central economic planning. And twice, in the grip of these ideas, they have embarked upon massive figuring and the preparation of elaborate economic blueprints which have quickly led to confusion and frustration. Twice is a lot.

"And since these government excursions into a world of unreality have not merely wasted time and energy and fostered much double-talk in economics, but have also led to breakdowns in the economy and made us poorer, it ought to be possible to draw some moral from these two melancholy episodes."

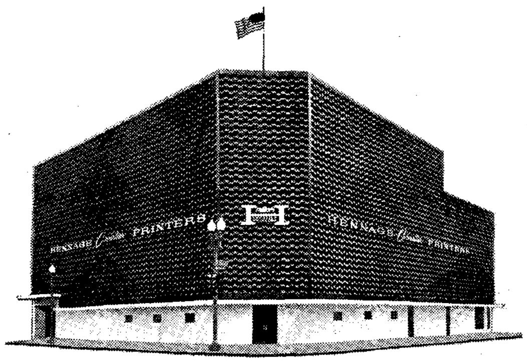
The moral which Prof. Jewkes draws is clear:

"There can be nothing but bitterness and ruin waiting for those who create, or suffer to be created, a centrally controlled economy. . . . The more apparent becomes the insolubility of the intellectual problems it involves, the crazier and more irresponsible will become the efforts to solve them."

Another of the redoubtable battlers for the economic and moral values of economic freedom is Austria-born Ludwig von Mises. Still alert and active in the ninth decade of his life, which is being spent in this country, Von Mises has been the teacher of a large number of younger economists, Austrians and foreigners. He is remembered by his former students not only for his profound erudition, but also for informal out-of-class contacts in the restaurants and cafes of Vienna.

His *Human Action* is economics considered in its broadest sense, including the types of behavior that may be expected as a result of the application of free and coercive methods. It is a book that belongs on the shelf of every libertarian conservative. Von Mises, along with Hayek and Roepke, was among the founding fathers of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Lawrence M. Fertig, one of the enlightened minority of American businessmen capable of offering a reasoned, articulate and persuasive vindication of the capitalist, or individualist, economic system, makes a very useful point in the very title of his book, *Prosperity Through Freedom*: Economic freedom is the indispensable and unvarying condition of



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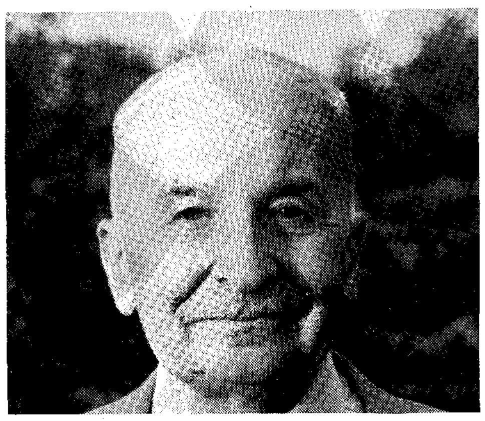
individual and national well-being.

A libertarian approach in economics, upholding the right of the citizen to earn freely in any legitimate business and to keep for himself and his descendants a reasonable part of what he earns, is only a part, although an important part, of the conservative creed.

A consistent conservative is also a firm, principled opponent of communism, on two counts. The two largest countries under Communist rule, the Soviet Union and Red China, and some smaller ones as well, have always shown themselves implacable enemies of the United States, eager to destroy or subvert it by force, threat of force and/or subversive propaganda. And communism denies such conservative beliefs as patriotism, family solidarity and faith in a higher power.



Economist Ludwig von Mises

Frank S. Meyer, an editor of *National Review*, has set forth the conservative mission to fight on two fronts, against communism and against liberalism, with its welfare state implications, very cogently in two books, *In Defense of Freedom* and the more recent *The Conservative Mainstream*. He distinguishes between these two threats, while emphasizing the necessity of a two-front struggle, in the following passages in *The Conservative Mainstream*:

"Liberalism weakens the fiber of society, but liberals are not, as are Communists, conscious enemies, conspiratorially organized for the conquest of world power.

> **"They must be fought in different ways: communism with every reserve both of the individual and of voluntary association of individuals and of the state; liberals by the methods of education, political organization and action."**

Among those who have exposed the true nature of Soviet communism and the fallacies of its American dupes and propagandists, few have been more effective than Eugene Lyons. Going to Russia as a journalist with a radical record and background, Lyons found his dream turned into a nightmare under the impact of such Soviet realities as terrorism, growing inequality, concentration camps, man-made famine and universal espionage. He described this broken dream in his 1937 book, *Assignment in Utopia* (reissued in paperback in 1967 by Twin Circle), and four years later, in *The Red Decade*, he made a superb collection of the foolish and extravagant statements of United States Communists and Communist sympathizers during the '30s.

In his more recent work, *Workers' Paradise Lost*, which is covered by the time scope of this survey, Lyons makes a grim presentation of the contrast, over half a century of Soviet rule, between alleged Soviet beliefs and the realities of Soviet actions.

A scholarly critic of Marxism and Soviet communism is Bertram D. Wolfe, author of a splendid analysis (*Marxism*) and a study of Stalin's tyranny as exposed in a secret speech of his successor, Nikita Khrushchev (*Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost*).

Robert Conquest's *The Great Terror* is a magnificently documented record of Stalin's ruthless use of his power as absolute dictator to decimate with wholesale executions and consignment to living death of the slave labor concentration camps uncounted millions of Soviet citizens who had incurred his displeasure or his paranoid suspiciousness. It is Conquest's belief that the number of Stalin's victims is in the neighborhood of 20 million and he cites solid evidence to support this view.

Even if later investigation should reveal that the true number of victims was only half, or a quarter, of that figure, Conquest would have revealed Stalin as a killer on a scale unmatched by the bloodiest of the Tsars.

The restoration of human slavery on a gigantic scale by the huge system of slave labor camps, mostly located in the coldest, most forbidding areas of northern Russia and Siberia, is analyzed in *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, the joint work of two Russian emigre scholars, David J. Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky. The broad outlines of the system are clearly and effectively described in this book.

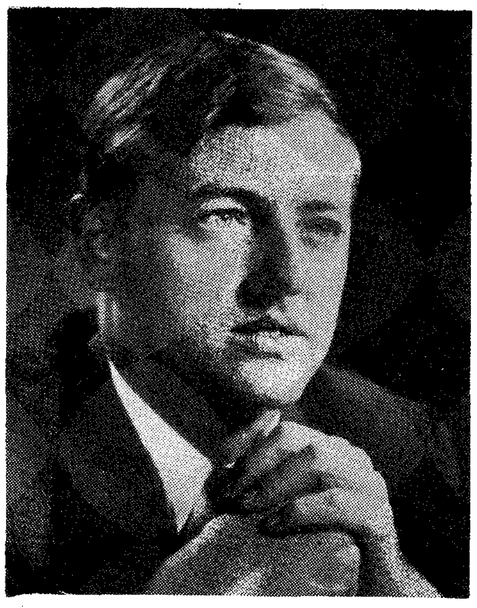
Records of personal experience are sometimes more moving and effective than collections of facts, however well documented. One of the best of such records is *11 Years in Soviet Prison Camps* by Elinor Lipper, a Dutch woman who, in various ways, fell into the enormous network of Soviet slave labor.

Merely as literature and as a frank description of the innersprings that have led some Americans to cross the line to actual service of a foreign power, the work possesses permanent value. But it also casts a flood of illumination on Soviet espionage methods and the various agencies and individuals who became in what may well be called the web of subversion which the Soviet Union established in this country before and still more during the war years, when sympathy with Russia created a favorable atmosphere in which Soviet spies could operate.

For a precise statement of Communist doctrine, of the significance which Communists attach to certain phrases and expressions, one could scarcely desire a more illuminating and instructive work than R. N. Carew Hunt's *The Theory and Practice of Communism*.

A number of books worthy of being listed in a selection of conservative literature are devoted to the exposure of internal subversion and infiltration of government agencies by Communist agents and sympathizers.

Perhaps the most instructive volume in this regard is Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*. This is an extraordinarily revealing story of the making and unmaking of a Soviet secret agent, an American who became so involved in the ideology of communism that he was willing to act as a Communist spy-courier.



William F. Buckley Jr. has been in the first rank of conservative writers.

25 Conservative Books Of the Last 25 Years

William F. Buckley Jr.	*Up From Liberalism* (McDowell, Obolensky, 1959)
Whittaker Chambers	*Witness* (Random House, 1952)
Jan Ciechanowski	*Defeat in Victory* (Doubleday, 1947)
Robert Conquest	*The Great Terror* (Macmillan, 1968)
David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky	*Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* (Yale University Press, 1947)
Ralph de Toledano	*Spies, Dupes and Diplomats* (Duell, Sloan, Pearce, 1952)
M. Stanton Evans	*The Liberal Establishment* (Devin-Adair, 1965)
Lawrence M. Fertig	*Prosperity Through Freedom* (Regnery, 1961)
Jeffrey Hart	*The American Dissent: A Decade of American Conservatism* (Doubleday, 1965)
Friedrich A. Hayek	*The Road to Serfdom* (University of Chicago, 1944) *The Constitution of Liberty* (University of Chicago, 1960)
Robert N. Carew Hunt	*The Theory and Practice of Communism* (Macmillan, 1955)
John Jewkes	*Ordeal by Planning* (St. Martin) *The New Ordeal by Planning* (St. Martin, 1968)
Russell Kirk	*The Conservative Mind* (Regnery, 1960)
Elinor Lipper	*11 Years in Soviet Prison Camps* (Regnery, 1951)
Eugene Lyons	*Workers' Paradise Lost* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1967)
Frank S. Meyer	*In Defense of Freedom* (Regnery, 1961) *The Conservative Mainstream* (Arlington House, 1968)
Albert Jay Nock	*The Memoirs of a Superfluous Man* (1943; Regnery, 1964)
Wilhelm Roepke	*A Humane Economy* (1958; English edition, Regnery, 1960) *Economics of the Free Society* (1961; English edition, Regnery, 1963)
Ludwig Von Mises	*Human Action* (1952; 3rd Edition, Regnery, 1966)
Bertram D. Wolfe	*Marxism* (Dial, 1965) *Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost* (Praeger, 1957)

Another valuable work in the field of internal security is Ralph de Toledano's *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats*. De Toledano emphasizes the frustration of America's proper national aims in China by the heavily infiltrated Institute of Pacific Relations and ends by posing the question: Conspiracy or stupidity? He ventures the conclusion that, whichever explanation is preferred, the result was disastrous.

No discussion of conservative literature would be complete without including Albert Jay Nock's *The Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*, the highly original, witty, learned autobiography of one of the most charming and, to those who disagreed with him, irritating essayists of the century. It has been compared with *The Education of Henry Adams*, but is free from the strain of tragic destiny which appears in that work. Nock was by no means lacking in egotism, but never took himself as seriously as Adams.

William F. Buckley's *Up from Liberalism* is a high-spirited confrontation with what the author regards as some of the outstanding prejudices of liberalism. It is both an able, sprightly challenge to liberalism, in its modern American form, and a call for the rehabilitation and revival of conservatism as an intellectual force.

An admirable case history of one of the most shameful episodes in the liberal diplomacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the betrayal of our wartime ally, Poland, is Jan Ciechanowski's *Defeat in Victory*. Mr. Ciechanowski was Polish ambassador in Washington until the government which he represented was disallowed after the sell-out to Stalin at Yalta. Because of his official standing, the author had many opportunities for contact with Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Harry Hopkins and other wartime political figures. It is an authentic picture of a great tragedy.

M. Stanton Evans

Finally, there is M. Stanton Evans' *The Liberal Establishment*, another excellent dissection of American liberalism, which, with its dogmas and prejudices for statism and against individualism, controls so many of the media that influence public opinion.

Continued from page 4

Census figures show the suburban, home-owning group in America is increasing rapidly in size and has become the most important single element in our politics. This alteration has been accompanied by expanded public concern on the issue of government—as in the Gallup surveys which show a rapid increase in the number of people who think that government is the "biggest threat to the country in the future."

In 1959, one year after the last Eisenhower by-election, Gallup found only 14 per cent of his respondents who thought that government was the biggest threat to the nation. In 1965, one year after the Goldwater presidential run, Gallup found the level of concern had gone up to 37 per cent. And in 1968, mid-way in the Nixon election campaign, he discovered that no less than 46 per cent of his respondents held to this opinion. The direction and velocity of this political change are obvious.

Equally important in recent conservative-Republican victories has been the fact that the GOP has broken free from the regional strait-jacket which confined its efforts to three-quarters of the country, leaving the House and Senate seats and electoral votes of the South to the Democrats. Although the GOP still has far to go in this respect, its gains are tangible. Within the party, the nominations of Goldwater in '64 and Nixon in '68 were achieved through a coalescence of the Midwest and Western states with the South. It was this same kind of coalescence, in turn, which produced Nixon's victory in November.

In Congress, the significance of the South is plain. The GOP could never hope to achieve a stable majority in the national legislature so long as a quarter of the country was yielded by default to the opposition. Under these circumstances, the party was required to win a massive landslide elsewhere to achieve a simple congressional majority.

The obvious alternative was to break into the South, and thanks to conservative insistence the party has at last begun to do this. Net Republican gains in Congress over the past several years are almost entirely owing to seats the GOP has picked up in Dixie.

If nothing else had been achieved in the last generation, this penetration of Democracy's most fabled bastion would in itself justify conservative confidence in the future. This is an achievement of enormous magnitude, capable in itself of working a revolution in our politics.

At long last the conservative segments of the nation are beginning to move into common alignment. If and when this transposition is achieved, the conservative dominance apparent in the last two Republican conventions can become equally apparent in the nation's politics at large. Republican majorities can be assembled both in Congress and in the electoral college, and those majorities can be distinctively conservative in nature.

This is not, however, the only kind of change that is afoot. We are also in the midst of a major intellectual revolution, pushing us in a similar direction.

Since ideas are the ultimate source of all political decision, this could be the most significant difference between '69 and '44. Indeed, the rise of conservative strength in the realm of ideas has been far more dramatic than its increase in the immediate world of politics. The political change can be measured i terms of a few percentage points; th intellectual change cannot be portione out so precisely, but the conservativ increase has been by a factor of 1 or more.

A simple way of gauging this is t observe the growth of conservative pub lications. *Human Events*, as noted, ha only a handful of subscribers during it first year of publication. It now ha over 100,000. And it has been joine by many other journals working in be half of conservatism, including the refur bished *Freeman*, *National Review*, *Modern Age*, and others.

Added to this has been the development of a whole new body of conser vative literature—hundreds of book whose counterparts did not exist a generation ago. The flourishing growt of the Conservative Book Club is sufficient witness to this change.

The ranks of conservative scholar have also grown, and their defense o traditional values, of the free enterpris economy, of reasoned opposition to th menace of communism, have far greate impact than was possible in 1944. Th attainments of such people as Milto Friedman, George Stigler, Warren Nutter, Stefan Possony, Gerhart Niemeyer, Eric Voegelin, Stanley Parry, Yale Brozen, Martin Anderson, Richard Allen, and countless others have had decisive

Arlington House Editor Dave Franke addresses a recent Human Events seminar for its summer interns.

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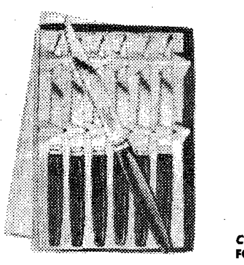

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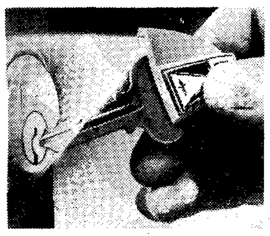

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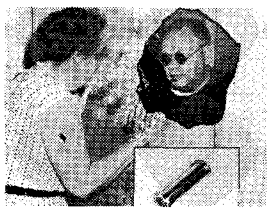

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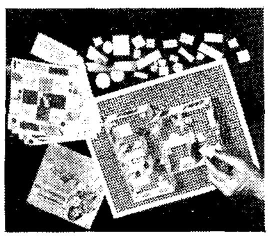

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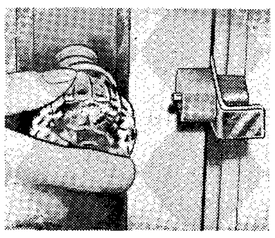

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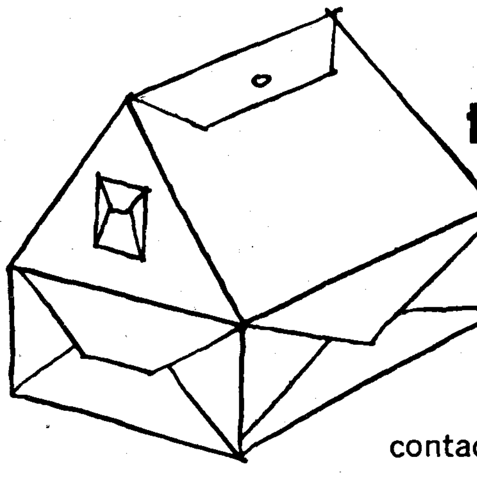

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ffect on scholarly and political opinon and will do much to shape our naional attitudes in the years ahead.

Conservatives are still a woeful miority in the scholarly community, but heir members are legion compared to '5 or even a dozen years ago. And heir intellectual influence is far in exess of their numbers.

One obvious result of the new conervative literature and new conservaive scholarship has been the growth f student conservatism.

Despite the publicity lavished on the yperthyroid "New Left," conservative roups on campus continue to grow nd prosper. Both the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and the Young Americans for Freedom increase their membership with every passing year, while he Young Republican National Federation has become a durable outpost of informed conservative opinion. The ecent boorishness of the New Left has served, moreover, to give fresh mpetus to conservative action on the ampus.

It is this growth of a strongly motivated philosophical conservatism which nost distinguishes the conservatism of 1969 from that of 1944. Conservatives n this interval have become conscious of themselves *as conservatives*, with developed answers to and criticisms of he proposals of the liberal left. This s a momentous change.

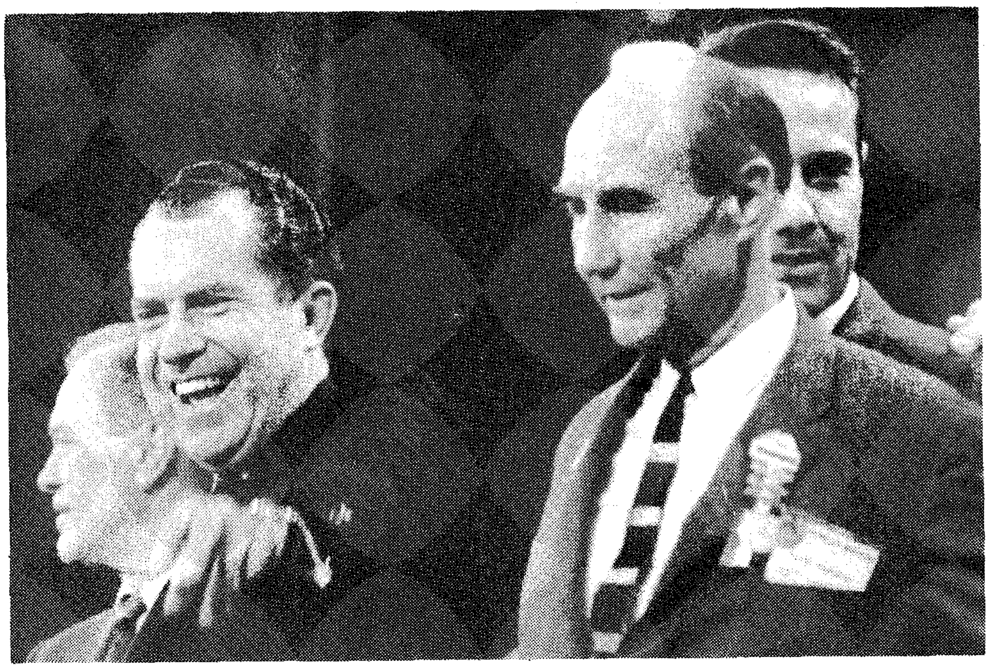
The usual pattern of modern poliics, in America and in Western Europe, resupposes a leftish monopoly in the arts of verbalization and deployment of opinion. Conservatives have been the party of possession, alternately fighting off and yielding to the swarming ideologies of their liberal foes.

Now, to a large extent, conservatism has become not merely a temperamental but a philosophical interest. The "old guard" variant was not strongly ideological, and while it featured many men of high intelligence—Hoover and Taft most prominent among them—it operated in terms of certain unstated assumptions about American life which were not sustained by scholarly endeavor. It was a "seat-of-the-pants" kind of conservatism, strong on history and precedent, perhaps, but not suited to the rigorous demands of a highly verbal age.

The new Right in America is marked by the confluence of intellectual and political energies.

Goldwater and Reagan—while themselves not scholars—have relied on the inventive resources of conservative theoreticians. So also, to some degree, has Nixon—the examples of Nutter, Allen and Anderson coming most prominently to mind. This was the kind of help which was infrequently available, if at all, to the political leaders of the old guard Republican party. The conservative and Republican interest of 1969 can draw on deeper intellectual resources than were available back in 1944.

The new self-consciousness of conservatives is evident in the number of conservative groups which have come into being, and in the kind of activity they pursue.

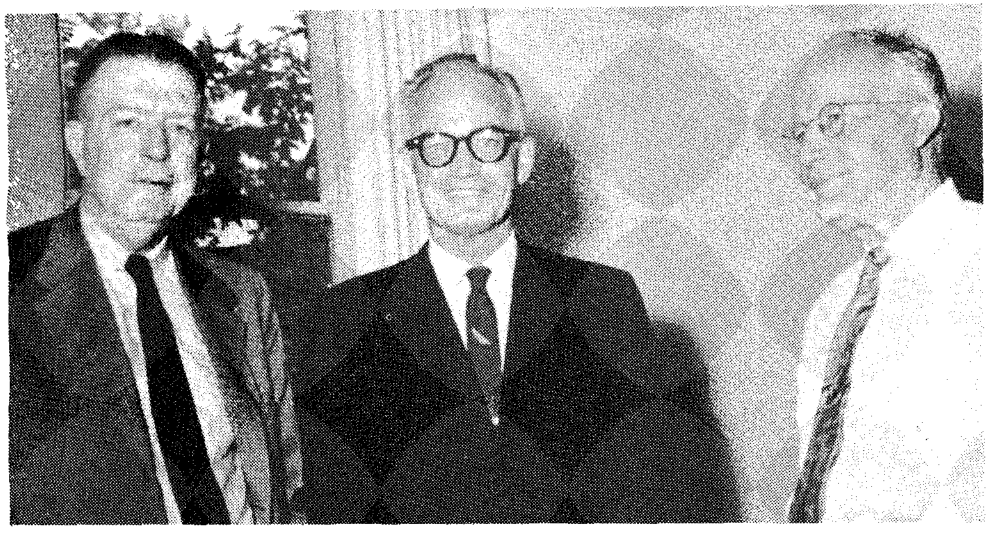


Highlighting the fact that the right wing has come of age, conservatives even split their votes in both the GOP convention and the national election. Some favored Ronald Reagan and George Wallace respectively; yet Richard Nixon was able to build a solid base of conservative support for victory. Above, Nixon and Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) with House Minority Leader Gerald Ford and Rep. (now Sen.) Bob Dole (R.-Kan.) in background.

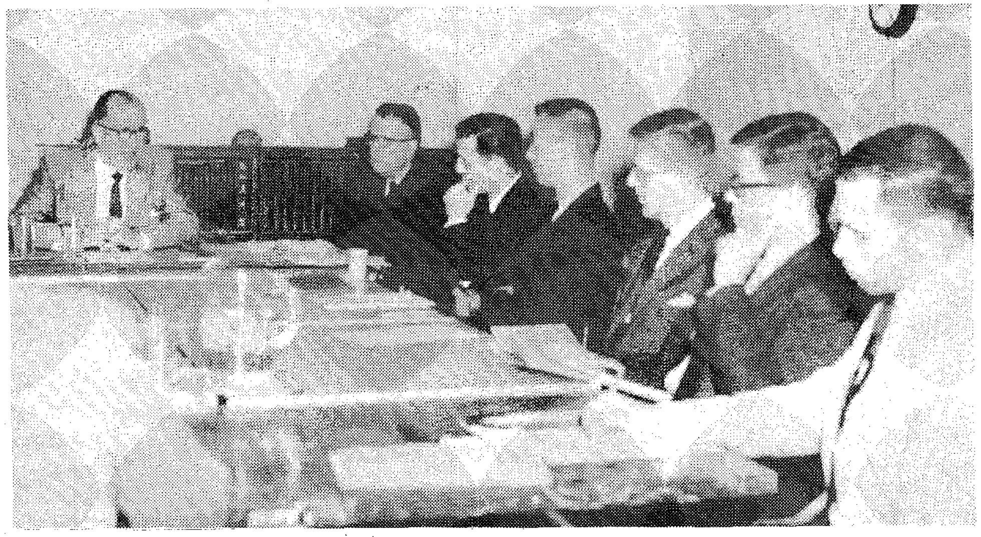
There now exists, to mention only one example, the vote record service of Americans for Constitutional Action, which allows the public to assess the performance of its representatives on conservative-liberal issues. This kind of litmus test did not exist in 1944, so that philosophical inconsistencies in Washington could not be checked out very easily back home. Nowadays a congressman who strays too far from conservative principle will hear about it from his constituents. The intervening years have provided both stronger motives toward conservatism and improved techniques for attaining it.

Willingness of conservatives to seize the philosophical initiative has brought other benefits as well: The rigorous conservative critique of government welfare programs, urban renewal projects, Medicaid, the "War on Poverty," public housing and so forth, has finally broken through to the liberals themselves. It has become fairly respectable in liberal-left circles to denounce these things, to proclaim that the big government welfare system has failed and that there must be new efforts to decentralize and equilibrate power. These are things conservatives have been saying for years.

(*Continued on following page*)



In 1959, then Sen. Barry Goldwater dropped in at the Human Events offices to meet with Editor and Publisher Frank Hanighen (left) and Executive Editor James L. Wick. Hanighen and Wick were among the first to promote Sen. Goldwater as presidential material.



In the late '50s the Human Events journalism schools were begun. Here Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson addresses some of the students. On Benson's left is Editor Frank Hanighen.

The Human Events Story

Human Events was officially launched in 1944 at a Chicago luncheon given by Gen. Robert E. Wood. Among the first supporters and subscribers were:

Cecil B. deMille
Pierre S. duPont
Gov. Charles Edison
Pierre F. Goodrich
Herbert Hoover
Charles A. Lindbergh
Sterling Morton
Cola Parker
J. Howard Pew
Henry Regnery
Sid Richardson
Clarence Manion
Col. Robert R. McCormick
Adolph Menjou
Roger Milliken
Raymond Moley
Adm. Ben Moreell
Robert A. Taft
Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer
Hon. Burton K. Wheeler
E. L. Wiegand
Gen. Robert E. Wood

Human Events began publication as a four-page newsletter. Its first "office" was the apartment of its late founder, Frank C. Hanighen, a widely respected trade book editor, foreign correspondent and author.

By 1958 it had begun to gain in circulation and had been guided to national influence by its late president, James L. Wick. Mr. Wick also had a successful newspaper career as well as being a free lance writer and lecturer. He was, until 1945, the editor of the Prentice-Hall Newsletter, "What's Happening in Washington."

Under Wick and Hanighen political journalism took on a new dimension, as **Human Events** began promoting responsible political action.

In 1966 a corporation headed by three long-time **Human Events** staff members acquired control of the newspaper: Thomas S. Winter, Editor; Allan H. Ryskind, Capitol Hill Editor, and Robert D. Kephart, Publisher.

* * * * * *

In 1958 Wick organized the **Human Events** School of Journalism to train promising young conservatives. Among the first graduates were Bill Schulz, who went on to serve for six years as top assistant to the late Fulton Lewis Jr., and then to **Reader's Digest**; David Franke, who served as an editor to **New Guard**, the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom; and Doug Caddy, who helped found YAF before joining the National Association of Manufacturers.

Human Events has also been instrumental in developing other young conservative writers. Some of Bill Buckley's first professional writing was published in **Human Events**. The same is true of Richard Whalen, who went on to become a senior editor of **Fortune** and author of the bestselling biography of Joseph Kennedy.

Through a policy of hiring summer interns, **Human Events** continues to aid conservative journalism students and several recent employes are already on the staff of daily newspapers.

In addition to its regular weekly issues, **Human Events** also publishes longer reports and special issues devoted to a single topic. One of the more recent of these, a major report on Nelson Rockefeller, was widely distributed before and during the GOP National Convention in Miami and the special issue on Nixon and Humphrey went out to tens of thousands of voters. An in-depth report on Wallace was another election-year feature. Other special studies have focused on topics such as the New Left, the Welfare State and the War on Poverty.

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Some part of this dawning realization stems from the fact that the programs have, quite simply, failed, and that anyone who takes the trouble to examine the results can find out as much. But until conservatives like Anderson, Brozen and Friedman started assembling the data, few people had bothered to do the examining.

There is a terrible inertia in such bureaucratic undertakings, and the normal procedure has simply been to pile new programs on the old ones, without inquiring too closely into whether the old ones had accomplished anything or whether the new ones were likely to. Conservative work on such questions has finally moved the stone; and while the inertial drag is still there, it is not particularly unusual these days to find liberals espousing programs and theories originally fostered by people like Friedman or Roger Freeman or some other conservative scholar.

The impact of these economic, geographic and intellectual changes taken together is apparent. As Louis Harris put it in a post-election survey, "America is in a politically conservative mood."

Harris found that 38 per cent of his respondents designated themselves as conservatives, as opposed to only 17 per cent who said they were liberals. He noted that a poll four years previously showed 34 per cent conservative and 20 per cent liberal. Although the figures in such inquiries tend to move up and down, depending on sample variations and/or other types of nuance, Harris concluded that the net movement in political sympathy had been "a moderate but perceptible drift to the center and right of center during this period."

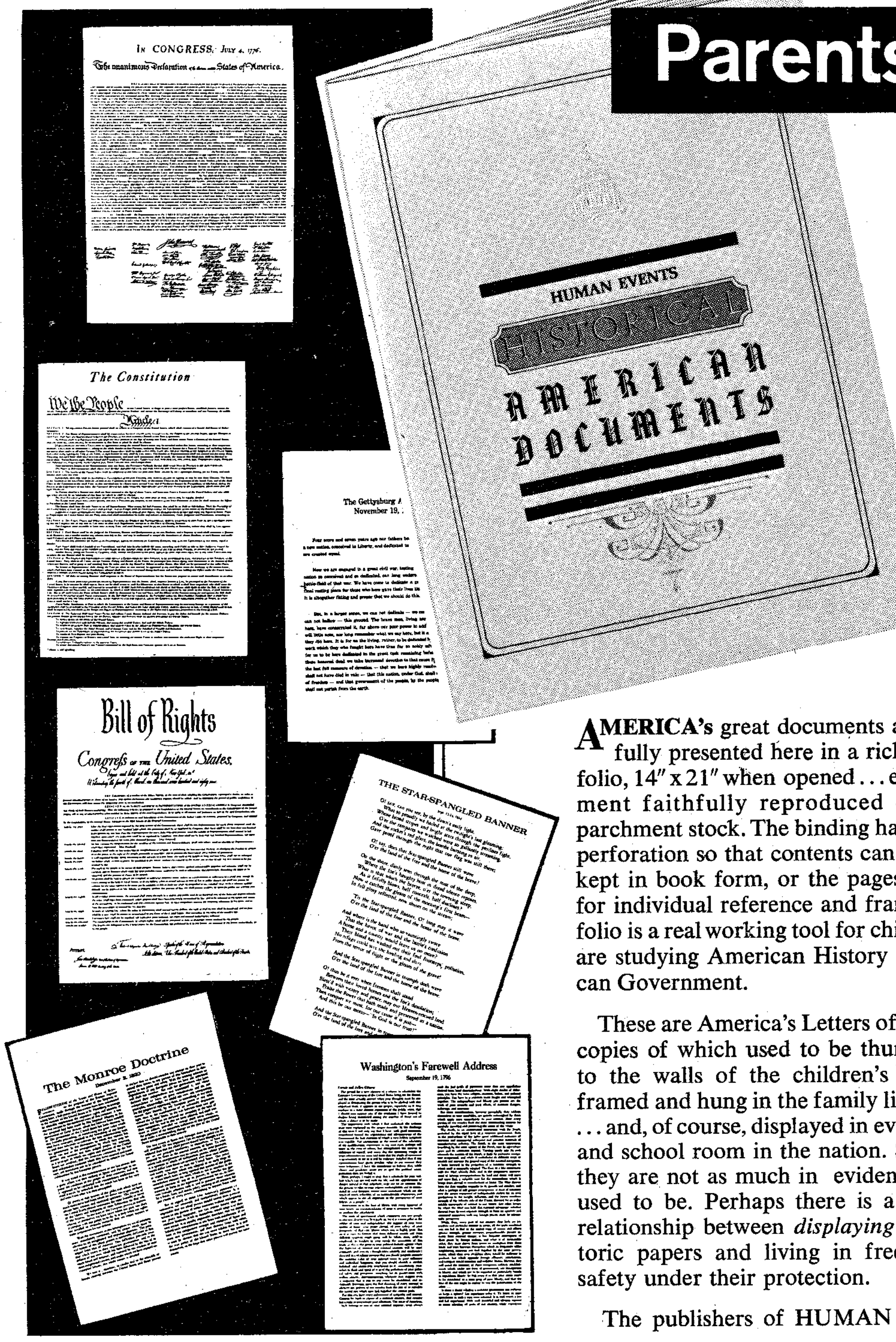
Specifics to back up this contention were assembled by the American Conservative Union, which found not only that U.S. opinion was conservative, bu that it was getting more so. Thus 1964 inquiry by the Survey Researc Center at the University of Michiga found public feeling on "big govern ment" to be moderately liberal, but follow-up two years later found it to b moving strongly toward conservatism The second poll showed 38.5 per cen saying government was "too powerful' as opposed to 26.8 per cent who sai it wasn't.

ACU likewise collated a number o inquires from Survey Research and Gall up showing strongly conservative opinions on such things as school "busing,' classroom prayer, compulsory unionism, taxes, a bombing halt in Vie Nam and "bridge-building" with th Communists. In most categories, conservative opinion predominated and wa on the increase.

In 1944 welfare liberalism was th accepted orthodoxy in America, bot intellectually and politically. In 196 it is accepted no longer. For liberalism, the philosophical string has al too obviously run out. The drive and resilience are gone, and the nation i casting about for alternatives.

The convergence of forces examined here suggests the likely alternative is the conservative philosophy of limited government, constitutional restraint, and free play for the market economy. In large part, indeed, the shift has already begun, and this is a sizable attainment for the forces of conservatism.

A beginning is not, however, a victory—and there are still many problems for conservatives to negotiate. Miscalculation of resources, failure of will, default of leadership, could prevent the fulfillment of conservative objectives. For readers of *Human Events* it has been a trying but on the whole rewarding 25 years. The next 25 can be even better, but only if the proper sort of effort is forthcoming.



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Conservatives in the Academy

By Dr. PHILIP M. CRANE

It does seem, however, that when he opinions of the masses of merely average men are everywhere become or becoming the dominant power, the ounterpoise and corrective to that tendency would be the more and more pronounced individuality of those who tand on the higher eminences of thought.

—John Stuart Mill

Let us not dream that reason can ever be popular. Passion, emotions, may be made popular, but reason remains ever the property of the few.

—Johann Van Goethe

These two quotations well summarize the dilemma of conservatives on the campus today, be they students or professors.

One would logically suppose that of all places in our society where we might expect to find reason and truth enshrined, of all places in our society theoretically best equipped to provide the counterpoise and corrective to the ills of our age, it would be within the ivy-covered walls.

Instead, from coast to coast, passion and emotion are becoming more the hallmarks of the university than reason.

The dilemma of the contemporary university is at least three-fold:

- First, the press for quantitative rather than qualitative improvement of the academy has reduced that institution to a magnified reflection of some of the greatest sicknesses of society itself.

Educator Robert Maynard Hutchins once whimsically said every child should be given a college degree at birth.

- Second, the regnant intellectual orthodoxy in the contemporary university —Establishment Liberalism—has sold itself so effectively for a generation that the opinions of the masses of merely ordinary men are virtually indistinguishable from the opinions of the academicians.

Third, a part of that orthodoxy—philosophical relativism, permissiveness, egalitarianism—has spawned the madness of the radicals who now seek to destroy the university in the vain Marxist hope "that out of this chaos will emerge a better America."

We should not delude ourselves into believing that matriculation breeds reason.

Some years ago *Fortune* magazine revealed that 42 per cent of the 18-22 age bracket was enrolled in colleges and universities in America. By 1975, according to the article, we can expect to see the percentage increased to 50 per cent.

At the same time, only 15 per cent of *any* age bracket has an IQ of 115 or above, which is considered the *minimum* level intelligence quotient necessary to graduate from college.

And this merely sheds light upon the percentage of the population that has the intellectual horsepower to make it.

We all know the importance of motivation on top of ability. Certainly, not all of those intellectually qualified for higher education have the motivation to submit to the discipline of higher education.

In January of this year *Fortune* devoted an entire issue to American youth, particularly college youth.

The students (still a minority) disposed to subscribe to the demonology of SDS and other radical student organizations, according to this study, come from more affluent families than the conscientious (*Fortune* uses the word "practical") students, and from permissive (*Fortune* uses the word "democratic"), politically liberal home environments.

This combination has produced an alarming number of young people—irrespective of their intellectual potential—who have had their way paved so extravagantly that they cannot submit to the discipline of any form of sustained work.

In a day of instant coffee, instant meals, and instant statesmen, is it any wonder that many young people are gulled into believing that there is not a shortcut to everything in life, that one need no more work for an education than for a living?

Small wonder that such young people rebel against the rigors of the intellectual discipline required to get an education.

Surely, much of the emphasis upon remaking the curricula into a "relevant" experience is little more than a yearning to escape from the norms developed through the years in defined disciplines constituting most of the present curricula.

A popular high school "history" teacher on the North Shore of Chicago has converted her "history" class into a relevant experience (she happens to dislike history) by letting her students select any topic to write a paper about (she calls it "doing their thing") and then give themselves their own grade at the end of the semester.

The dismissal of sociology instructor Marlene Dixon, a Marxist, caused an uproar on the University of Chicago campus.

About the Author

Dr. Crane first gained national attention in 1964 when he wrote **The Democrat's Dilemma**, a critical analysis of the modern Democratic party. A former professor of history at Bradley University, he is now doing private educational work in Chicago. Dr. Crane received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Indiana University, where he compiled an academic record that has never been equaled in the history of that institution. He taught for three years at Indiana before moving to Bradley.

Fortune places the percentage of the college population which generally lists to port at two-fifths.

Even if one were to insist that *all* the brains were on the Left, this would mean that their numbers still run well beyond that percentage of any age group which has the minimum-level intelligence to finish college.

And on the basis of personal experience and comparing notes with a significant number of teaching colleagues, it is an act of extreme generosity to give the Left credit for simply having its fair share of the brains.

So we have, with respect to the liberal-radical mentality on our college campuses, insufficient brains, which combined with their lack of discipline may make them "popular" in Goethe's sense, but simultaneously the greatest threat to the survival of higher education that the academy has ever faced.

Nor does the issue end here.

Our swollen college ranks have taxed beyond our resources the supply of brain power necessary to turn out qualified professors.

Our graduate schools over a number of years have been watering down their requirements for advanced degrees to meet the demand for professors.

Unfortunately, when we attempt to create brains by fiat, the way the government creates money when there is a shortage, the consequences are the same—the product is worth less.

In fact, relatively speaking, our brain-power reserves have been diminishing in almost an inverse ratio to the increased demand for brains.

This phenomenon has been the result of a twofold tendency.

On the one hand, the most gifted members of society are inclined to limit the size of their families in contrast to the less gifted.

On the other hand, our technology and political and social institutions have put the burden upon our society to provide at least the form (*if* not the substance) of those opportunities, privileges, and services that in an earlier day required merit and/or ability.

The recent student violence at the University of Chicago represents but one of many current illustrations of the crisis on the campus.

A self-avowed Marxist, Marlene Dixon, was fired from the sociology department.

The most distinguished professor of sociology at the University of Chicago concluded after a thorough review of her competence that her grasp of her subject was "meager and superficial" and that she was woefully inadequate as an instructor.

This raises the immediate question of why she was hired in the first place and how many other university instructors might be similarly evaluated.

Be that as it may, radical students (a decided minority of the total enrollment) seized the administration building in retaliation. They then submitted a variety of demands in exchange for giving up the administration building.

But the real thrust of their demands was insistence upon the power to determine school policy in the areas of hiring, firing and curriculum—what SDS likes to call "participatory democracy."

The noted psychiatrist, Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, a professor at the University of Chicago, describes these students as "storm troopers" and maintains they are suffering from paranoia. This totalitarian mentality of radical students has been observed by a number of impartial observers, including Bettelheim, who personally lived through the reign of terror imposed upon German universities by Hitler youth.

Paranoia and a totalitarian mentality would seem to go hand in hand.

A poignant question we might ask ourselves is what we may be doing in our society to contribute to the "mass paranoia" Bettelheim sees on the American campus.

An important causal factor behind paranoia is the inability of the sick individual to reconcile his overblown image of himself with reality.

To young people who have had life presented to them on a silver platter, who have been told that the world is their oyster, that they are the brightest, healthiest, best educated, most talented generation in the history of mankind, it must come as a bitter disillusionment to discover that they cannot make the grade in those universities which have refused to make themselves over into glorified high schools.

Thus, we are back to the dilemma of conservatives in the academy.

They do not stand upon the higher eminences of thought, but their ability to serve as the counterpoise and corrective is largely negated by the qualitative deterioration of the university.

This is not the whole of the conservative's problems in the academy.

After a generation of liberal superstitions in the ascendancy, we find institutions which have lost their spiritual moorings.

(*Continued on following page*)

(*Continued from preceding page*)

William F. Buckley some years ago observed that if there is nothing that can be learned from history and passed on to successive generations as true, then we had better destroy education before it destroys us.

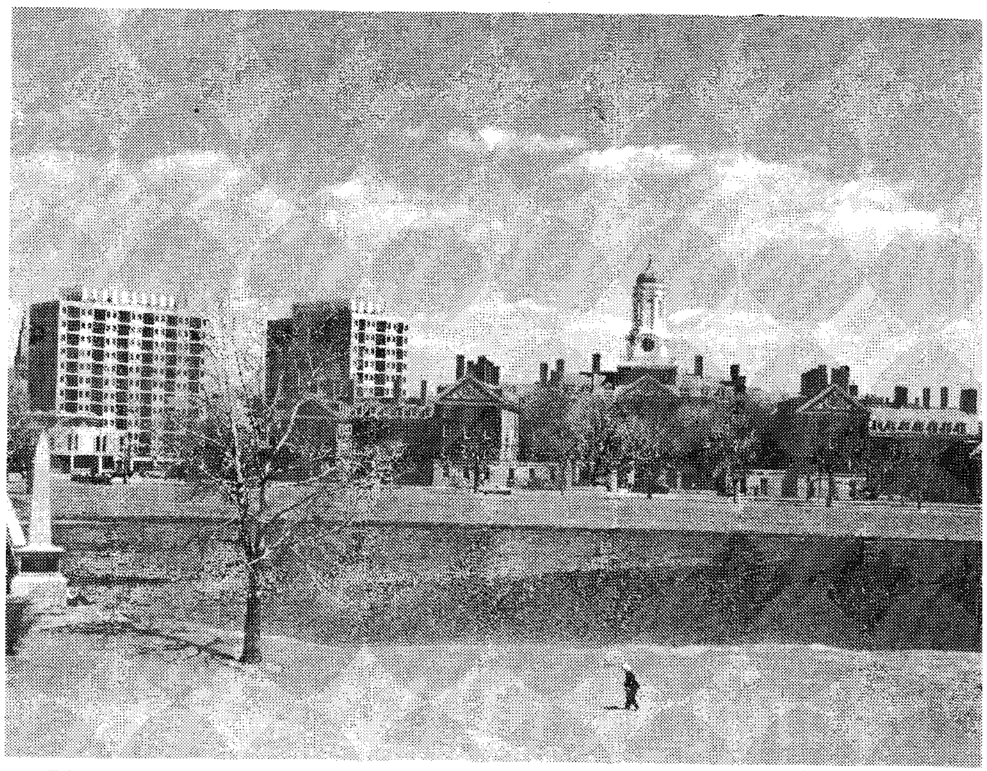
When we come to boast of an educational system that is "value-free," we run the risk of turning out highly trained Frankenstein monsters. We dare not reach the point where we support education for education's sake.

Hitler's Germany was as educated a society as any. Karl Marx was a highly educated man. Even the Devil knew his Scriptures in seeking to tempt the Lord in the wilderness.

In the fall of 1967 the drama department at the California State College at Fullerton staged a performance of the play *The Beard.* A reviewer described it as 60 minutes of verbalized smut punctuated by four-letter words and culminating in the performance of an oral-genital sex act on the stage.

This prompted an investigation of the incident by the California legislature.

To the shock of the investigators, after interviewing the president of the college, the latter indicated that he would take no action against any individual or the distribution of any kind of literature on the campus unless and until he had a specific court ruling declaring it illegal.



Education in itself is not a hallmark of political responsibility. For example, at Harvard (above) radical students recently used disruptive tactics to force the cancellation of a course they claimed was objectionable.

Such moral bankruptcy by supposedly responsible officials staggers the imagination. What position would such a man have taken in Hitler's Germany upon learning that Jews were being put into ovens? Would he have required a specific court ruling before making a moral judgment?

But the relativist ideal espoused by so many of the mental Merrimacs of Establishment Liberalism has made objective truth a dirty word, a "reactionary," "Neanderthal" belief clung to by only a few remaining "right-wing dinosaurs."

Thus, the radical charge that today's university is not relevant has a profound degree of truth to it, albeit not in the sense articulated by the radicals themselves.

A university education today is usually painfully irrelevant to those transcendant values and ideals which constitute the basis of the training of any man deserving the description "educated," "civilized," or "humane."

If there were a genuine hope of reforming the university from within, conservative professors could take the lack of promotions, minimal pay raises, cramped offices, paper work, committee overloads, suppression in the journals, prejudice in the reviews as a small price to pay to achieve the restoration of the academy.

But the prospect of internal reform appears remote.

At least it would appear remote until dictated by economics or until the level of student insanity reaches such proportions that responsible authorities are forced to make soul-searching re-evaluations about the nature of contemporary education.

In the meantime, conservative students will continue to go through the system so long as academic credentials are still used as criteria for employment.

A fortunate few, hopefully, will learn something in spite of the handicaps. Most will do in Crete as the cretins are doing for the sake of survival.

But the burdens thrust upon parents to make sure that their children are not perverted by the formal educational system will mount steadily.

And the resources of such important extra-curricular educational agencies as the Foundation for Economic Education, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and the American Economic Foundation will be increasingly strained to provide some measure of corrective to the institutional educational plant.

Robert Maynard Hutchins once suggested that we confer upon each child at birth a bachelor's degree and then we could get down to the serious business of education. Perhaps we should update Hutchins' proposal and confer Ph.D. degrees upon children at birth.

Of one thing we can be absolutely sure: the conferring of degrees will become increasingly automatic, dilution of standards for both teachers and students will continue apace, and a formal education will become more and more meaningless, if not downright dangerous.

At the present rate we may yet live to witness the fulfillment of the SDS boast that it will destroy the university.

Moreover, we may not care.

There may even be a worse fate. We may ultimately have to join with them in tearing it down.

A Resolution of Congratulations to *Human Events*

WHEREAS the Statement of Purpose of the American Conservative Union enumerates among the reasons for the founding of ACU the realization of the goals of conservatism "through the cooperation in responsible political action of all Americans who cherish the principles on which the Republic was founded," and;

WHEREAS this, the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and sixty nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the one hundred and ninety third, is also the Twenty Fifth Anniversary of the founding of *Human Events,* and;

WHEREAS *Human Events* has become one of the leading national conservative publications both in influence and readership, consistently promoting the principles of conservatism while presenting faithful and stimulating coverage of the news;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Directors of the American Conservative Union that congratulations is hereby extended to *Human Events,* its editors, publisher and staff, on this, the anniversary of its founding, and;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Board of Directors hereby expresses its appreciation for the constant fidelity to conservatism which has become the hallmark of *Human Events* and we do hereby extend our best wishes for continued success in the future.

Done at a meeting of the Board of Directors,
held in the City of New York, March 2, 1969.

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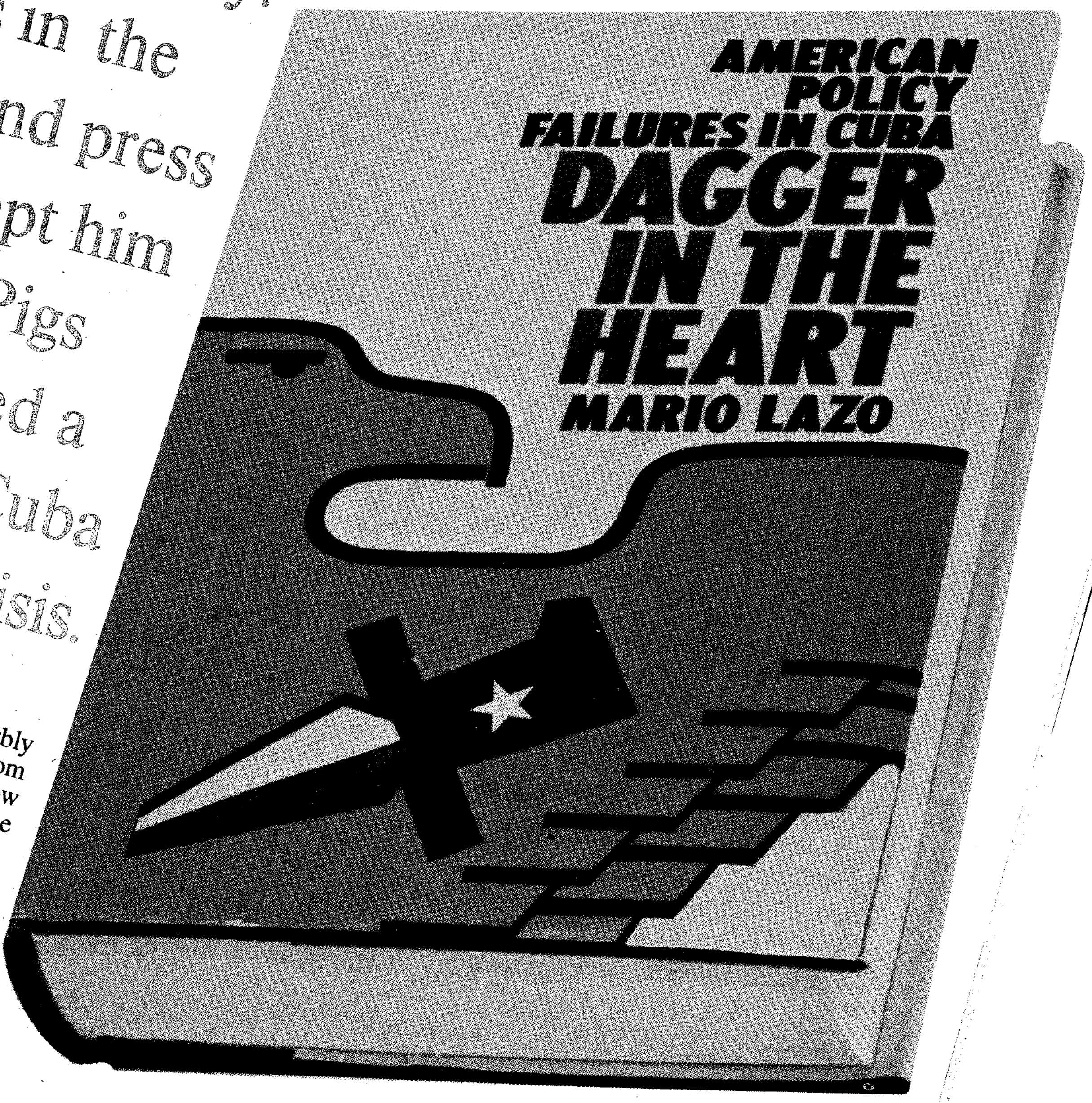

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In a posthumous book now on bestseller lists, Robert F. Kennedy gives his account of the Cuban Missile Crisis. It adds little to the other versions, all claiming that it was a glorious victory.

DAGGER IN THE HEART overwhelmingly refutes that myth. Why did the White House and the State Department for months refuse to believe that the Kremlin was placing missiles in Cuba? Facing up to Khrushchev almost at the last moment, why did President Kennedy temporize, retreat, and make a series of concessions which—in the words of Richard M. Nixon in 1964—"enabled the United States to pull defeat out of the jaws of victory"? Why was the Monroe Doctrine abandoned, reversing a century and a half of American hemisphere policy? Dr. Lazo presents documented answers to such questions.

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DAGGER IN THE HEART is an angry, eye-opening book. If read and heeded, it might well reverse the tides of Communist subversion out of Cuba now menacing America and the hemisphere. It squarely places the responsibility for the calamitous American failures where it belongs. It names names and presents little known or suppressed facts.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR . . .

Dr. Mario Lazo has, in effect, enjoyed dual citizenship: a Cuban since birth, he had been, for awhile, a U.S. citizen by naturalization. He was educated in the United States, with a law degree from Cornell. During World War I, he served with the American Expeditionary Forces as a captain of infantry in France. Then, for 35 years, he headed one of the outstanding law firms in Latin America, representing many foreign corporations as well as the U.S. government and an impressive Cuban clientele which included Ernest Hemingway. Like many other patriotic Cubans, he had collaborated with the anti-Castro underground. His arrest was inevitable.

While being hunted by Castro's secret police, Dr. Lazo managed a thrilling escape to the United States. He made a vow: *"Even if it takes the rest of my life, I will find out why the invasion failed."*

Through Dr. Lazo's international connections, he was able to speak in confidence with those who knew, at first hand, what happened in Washington during the critical Bay of Pigs operation in 1961 and later, in 1962, the perilous Missile Crisis.

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But Congress and Voters Are Waking Up

On Internal Security, Liberals Play Ostrich

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The dramatic confrontation between Alger Hiss (standing at right) and Whittaker Chambers (far left) should have pointed up to liberals the dangers of subversion in government and the true meaning of the Communist menace—but evidently did not.

Anti-Communists, at any rate, were not pleased to hear that then Secretary of State Dean Rusk toasted Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

18
CONVENTION COMMUNIST PARTY U·S·A
"END THE WAR IN VIETNAM WITHDRAW THE TROOPS NOW!"
Socialism Our Country! Our Time!
UNITED IN STRUGGLE NEGRO WHITE FOR EQUALITY AND BROTHERHOOD

When the Communist party, U.S.A., held its first national convention in many years, skeptics scoffed at the small attendance. What is forgotten, however, is that the real workers in the Red apparat are unknown to the public.

Less than a decade ago, no self-respecting politician would end a speech without some reference to the "international Communist conspiracy." Paying one's respects to the anti-Communist cause was as much a part of the ritual as motherhood and apple pie.

Then along came the Army-McCarthy hearings and the left-wing counterattack. Almost overnight, any mention of the Red threat to America became suspect. The liberal press threw up its hands in horror at the thought that anyone would take communism and Communist subversion seriously.

The pendulum has begun to swing back again. Not that the Washington *Post* or the facsimiles of same are doing the Paul Revere act. But there is a vague stirring in some circles, a result of the riot and protest which has been rocking some of our major institutions of learning. The professional liberals try hard to ascribe this to youthful unrest, but the less ideologically cemented are beginning to suspect that there is a plan behind it all—and Gov. Ronald Reagan's expression of this feeling has not led to the automatic tar-and-feather routine that would have been inevitable just a year ago.

At the same time, those who never fled from their anti-Communist principles—or from the firm knowledge that the Soviet and Red Chinese espionage leopards had not changed their spots—have developed a sophistication that was not everywhere apparent in the early and middle '50s.

A case in point is the attitude of anti-Communists towards Students for a Democratic Society. The Communists, whatever their orientation be, are making excellent use of SDS. The Soviet phalanx of the present-day Communist movement has indoctrinated a considerable number of SDS members with what is charmingly called Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese wing has implanted in others the Bakuninist-Nechaevist tenets of the *Catechism of a Revolutionist*. And where the trouble has been brewing, trained cadre has been able to make big riots of little ones.

Nevertheless, SDS is not a Communist "front" in the older meaning of that term. The top officers and the real direction of SDS are not in the pocket of the Communists. In fact, both Peking and Moscow have learned that it is better to allow SDS its ideological meanderings, its overlay of "anarchism," its formlessness. The Communist front and the transmission belt were too thoroughly exposed to be of value today. It is better to let chaos reign.

This is not to say that the *apparat* has been disbanded or that it is not working night and day to further the ends of Peking and Moscow. It is simply using the materials at hand and the changed circumstances of the late '60s. Fortunately for the *apparat*, the hippie-Yippie movement has given him protective coloration, making it difficult for the innocent bystander to separate the sheep from the coyotes.

It is interesting to go back to the *Catechism for a Revolutionist*, a 2,500 word document which so strikingly helped to form Vladimir Lenin's thinking and give 20th Century communism its emotional form. The revolutionist Bakunin and Nechaev wrote in the *Catechism*, must make himself an outcast shunning the morals and the codes of the "world of culture," steeled to accept torture, to kill or be killed, to strangle the feelings which might weaken his purpose. Established society is the enemy, but there are degrees within it

"One may conspire with the liberals in accordance with their programs, pretending that one follows them blindly, and at the same time one should dominate them to the utmost so that no avenue of retreat remains open for them, and then to use them as instruments for stirring up disturbances in the State: . . . Doctrinaires, conspirators, revolutionists talking idly in groups . . . must be continually pushed into making dangerous statements, the result of which would be destruction of the majority and the real revolutionary training of the few."

The evils of society are to be encouraged, to bring people to the sticking point which dictates the "all destructive" revolution. Revolutionists are to reject the classical revolutionary tradition of the West, the revolution by logic. The organization of catastrophe is the goal, and to achieve it, the revolutionist must often join the "bold world of bandits."

This, of course, is what Peking and Moscow agents in SDS, in the university riots, in the "confrontations" with police and all authority, have attempted and to an extraordinary extent accomplished. But because the non-Communist (and even anti-Communist) forces within the New Left subscribe to the same revolutionary principles, it has allowed the Communists to operate openly without tipping their hand.

The expert observer can tell the difference, but for the average newspaper reader, Communists and non-Communists of the New Left seem vultures of a feather.

The Communist penetration of the New Left, so painlessly achieved and so significant in its effects on our contemporary world, is but one aspect—the "public" aspect—of the *apparat*. In a sense, it is the least important activity of that underworld which has threatened the world since Lenin and Trotsky tumbled the Kerensky democracy and imposed a rigid and murderous dictatorship in its place—just as the "open" Communist parties were impotent in the world of major politics during the '20s, '30s and '40s.

The real work is in that teeming underworld of espionage agents, secret subversives and manipulators of government policy—the "plant you now, dig you later" operatives who are periodically unmasked and as periodically return to their posts in the key and sub-key positions of our society.

Isaac Don Levine, one of the best-informed men on Communist underground activities, remarked in conversation two decades ago that there were 10 Soviet apparatuses at work in the United States. There were "rings" in the State Department, the Pentagon,

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For biographical information on Mr. de Toledano, please see page 60.

Treasury, the Executive offices, the demic community, the business world, , all held together by a common rpose: the destruction of American iety and its government and the vicy of communism.

he disclosures of the early '50s—lumes of testimony heard by commits of the Congress, by grand juries d by federal courts—more than cororated Don Levine's modest statent. Defectors from the *apparat* in s country, as well as Russians and st Europeans who broke with the emlin, told their stories in vast and ovable detail.

Is there any reason to believe that the Kremlin and its Peking counterpart have in any way taken their hands from the subversive plow?

The Otepka case should be proof ough that nothing has changed. For to Otepka's great crime was not that gave information to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee about breaches of security in the State Department. What made Otepka dangerous and a mandatory target for professional extinction was his knowledge of the continuing and successful efforts of the Communists to maintain their *apparatchiks* in medium and high places.

It should give those who reject this idea some pause to learn that among those marked for further investigation by Otepka were a leading American industrialist and a high-echelon newspaper executive. Others on his list were of like importance, so Otto Otepka was pole-axed by those whose narrow political purpose was more important to them than the nation's security. Not the intruder, but the sentry, was punished.

The defectors continue to come over. In recent years they have exposed the penetration by Communist agents of NATO's most sensitive intelligence operations. They have supplied names, dates and places of further penetration into British, French and West German government offices at the highest levels. In the past decade the Soviets have succeeded in breaking the most intricate of United States military and diplomatic codes because of deliberate leaks from presumably trustworthy American officials.

But these revelations, once shared with the public, have now become top secret. The generalities are known, but the specifics and the names of the culprits are locked away in Washington's most secure safes. When it is too late, the facts of the Philby case are made known—and largely by the British who are less prone to hide their mistakes—but today's agents live in a privileged sanctuary.

Given his experiences in the Hiss case, it would seem that President Nixon would end this ostrich strategy. It was he who did the most to blast out the facts of the Alger Hiss perfidy. But this is a forlorn hope. An entrenched bureaucracy in the State Department has already let it be known that the "clean-up" promised by Mr. Nixon will never take place.

There is, of course, hope. The excesses of the New Left have aroused many people in and out of government. The immunity from retaliation which all Communists enjoyed is no longer absolute. Otepka's appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board may signal greater activity by the board. Congress grows restive, and it is encouraged by the public to act. Exposure of the "open" and underground *apparats* may follow. If it does, then the American people may once more be alerted to the grave dangers they face. It will take some doing—but before 1948, who would have predicted that the Hisses and the Harry Dexter Whites would someday be known for what they were?

Undaunted by HHH Defeat, COPE Plans for Future

From meager beginnings 25 years ago, labor's Committee on Political Education has grown into a well-financed, smoothly running machine.

By VICTOR RIESEL

There is a sadness about Hubert Horio Humphrey these days. It is noticele to those who dine with him and ose who sit alongside him on the any daises along the fruit cup circuit. e seems to wince a little each time me toastmaster refers to him as "Prossor Humphrey." The Democratic arty's nominal leader chuckles a bit nd seems to wince, too.

The gossamer melancholy, so uncharcteristic of the perpetual campaigner, prings from a deep feeling that he ould have beaten Richard Nixon if nly he had had another 48 hours in hich to do it. For he knows that e had with him during the 1968 drive he most skillful, most energetic, bestinanced and easily the most imaginaive political group in the land—namely, he AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Mr. Humphrey does not hesitate to say publicly these days that COPE bore the burden of his campaign. In fact, the record will show that it was his sole campaign machinery.

What is this acronym called COPE?

Basically it is the American labor ovement's most potent weapon—more owerful really than strikes. It is the ounterpart in this land of the force n Britain which made Harold Wilson rime minister; or Tage Erlander premier of Sweden; and Willy Brandt vice chancellor of the German Federal Republic.

This, COPE does not do with mirrors, rabbit feet or political legerdemain. It works round the clock and round the year, each day, each month and each year, regardless of what's upcoming, be it a mayoralty election or a presidential campaign.

It is deep in the Democratic organization, though AFL-CIO President George Meany, head of COPE, makes it clear publicly and privately that the movement must not be tied to any party. However, when Sen. Gene McCarthy set up shop on the front lines in Chicago last August he found that his most powerful opponents were not Hubert Humphrey, nor Sen. George McGovern, nor the Steve Smith-Ted Kennedy charisma, nor the Daley machine. He faced the single most powerful—and the largest—delegate bloc of all: labor's delegates.

They had 103 regular delegates and 201 alternates. But these were no ordinary delegates. They had among them men such as the AFL-CIO's New York State federation President Ray Corbett, upon whom many New York politicos depend. True, the New Yorkers had a powerful contingent of McCarthyites, but the labor people held some others in line even in that maverick state's delegates.

There were others from New Jersey, Michigan and Missouri and the West Coast. They operated under the direction of Mr. Meany and COPE's operational chief, ex-New Jersey high school teacher Al Barkan. They moved among the delegates. They had walkie talkies. They had headquarters in the Hotel Drake, the embattled Hotel Hilton and in the amphitheatre itself.

It did not just spring together. And it has not fallen apart. In fact, it is still functioning as powerfully as it did last August when Sen. McCarthy told a newsman that it was no use trying to join with Ted Kennedy against Mr. Humphrey.

It was those old labor leaders, he said. They're like buffalo. They dig their feet in. They put their heads down. And they can't be budged.

Amused by this succinct description of their influence, Al Barkan and George Meany organized the Loyal Order of Buffalo, had a dye cast, made tiny silver buffaloes, distributed them to some 40 or 50 charter members who now wear them in their lapels.

And those buffalo still are dug in. Only more so. They have COPE operations going in at least 1,100 cities. They are computerizing.

They decided during their mid-winter Administrative Committee meeting to raise the per capita tax on each of the AFL-CIO's 14 million members by what they call a voluntary assessment so they can spend about a million dollars a year, each year, not just the big election years, to register eligible voters.

In 1968 they actually got 4.54 million people to register. Then hundreds of thousands move or slip from the rolls. But this time the COPE officials de-

COPE went all-out for Vice President Hubert Humphrey in his drive for the White House and can be expected to do the same for other deserving liberal Democrats.

cided they would not wait until the mid-term congressional election. They voted to run a registration drive in 1969, though there are just a few city and state elections of any great political significance this year.

Generally they raise some $600,000. Then they go into the field and work with the local COPE groups. When a satisfactory local committee is functioning, they match each local dollar with two dollars. Generally their arithmetic comes to a million dollars. But whether it is a million or a million and a half is not the point.

The point is they work. They do their homework, too. They operate through a computer which rests in the International Association of Machinists building. "Rests" is hardly the word for it. They pour names in as swiftly as they get them from the local unions.

At the last count there were close to five million names listed, by union, by state, county, district, ward and address. "Walking lists" for bell-ringers can be punched out in seconds. Names of unionists who are not registered can be whipped up just as quickly. So can rosters of contributors; and those who did not vote last time and should be telephoned this time, ad infinitum.

But the machine is not enough. Last February the COPE Administrative Committee, made up of the 29-member AFL-CIO Executive Council, 25 international union presidents and 44 staff specialists, developed a new campaign technique. It asked national union chiefs to take over the vote drive in specific sections of the country.

The Seafarers International Union president, Paul Hall, for example, set up headquarters in San Francisco's Hotel Fairmount and directed a pile-driving campaign in California.

Others moved from their national offices in Washington, New York and Pittsburgh to other states. They were successful in many—especially in New York, where they took the state from Mr. Nixon, though one million voters cast their ballots on the Conservative party's line (not for Mr. Nixon, however, because of an electoral technicality, though it is apparent that they did switch to the Republican line at the top of the ticket).

So unlike the Democratic and Republican machines which are either in low gear or disarray, COPE has started its 1969, 1970 and even its 1972 campaigns. This year it will be active in such states as New York (in the big city's mayoralty fight); New Jersey, California and Wisconsin.

Next year it will fight to save 21 liberals, including Senators Burdick, Williams (N.J.), Hartke, Gore and Hart. COPE also will attempt to purge the soft-spoken new Sen. Charles Goodell, who is filling out the term of the late Bob Kennedy. Probably the candidate will be Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, sort of COPE's grandfather by way of the CIO's Political Action Committee.

And in 1972, COPE may be back at the old stand. It is devoted to Hubert Humphrey. First it will hit the Minnesota hustings for him in the 1970 senatorial election. And then it may well attempt to soothe his melancholy.

It's too early, of course, to talk much of '72. But if Hubert Humphrey is in running trim, COPE will fire the starter's gun earlier this time so the candidate can have his additional 48 hours.

For biographical information on Mr. Riesel, please see page 61.

Columnists Featured in Human Events

HOLMES ALEXANDER

Holmes Alexander, conservative journalist and author, was born in Parkersburg, W. Va., in 1906. A graduate of Princeton University and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, Mr. Alexander was elected to the Maryland General Assembly in 1931. During World War II he served with the Maryland National Guard, ending his military career as a major in the Army Air Force. After the war Mr. Alexander began his column for the McNaught Syndicate in New York City. He has written many books, including *The American Tallyrands, The Proud Pretender, Life of Martin Van Buren, The Life of Aaron Burr, Dust in the Afternoon, Shall Do No Murder, The Equivocal Men,* and *The Spirit of '76.*

ROBERT S. ALLEN

Born in Latonia, Ky., in 1900, Robert S. Allen served with the Sixth Cavalry during World War I and then entered the University of Wisconsin, working his way through college as a newspaper reporter. While studying on a one-year scholarship at the University of Munich, Mr. Allen covered the trial of Adolph Hitler for the *Christian Science Monitor.* At age 29, he became head of the *Monitor's* Washington bureau. Soon thereafter he became associated with Drew Pearson; their book, *Washington Merry-Go-Round,* stirred such a controversy that both authors lost their newspaper jobs. In 1932 their syndicated column first appeared. Allen later broke with Pearson and has been severely critical of his methods. After duty in World War II, Mr. Allen resumed his newspaper career on his own. In 1959 he teamed up with Paul Scott and their association continued until last year, when Mr. Scott began his independent column. Robert Allen now co-authors the Allen-Goldsmith Report with John Goldsmith. He is the author of *Nine Old Men, Lucky Ford* and *Our Sovereign States.*

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

One of the most widely syndicated conservative columnists in the country, John Chamberlain was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1903. A year after graduating from Yale University, he joined the staff of the New York *Times* as a reporter, later serving as the *Times'* daily book reviewer. In 1936 Mr. Chamberlain became a staff writer for *Fortune* magazine. He left *Fortune* in 1941 to accept an associate professorship at the Columbia University School of Journalism, while at the same time doing free-lance work for *Life* and *Fortune.* Mr. Chamberlain edited the *Saturday Review of Books* and the book review sections of both *Scribner's* and *Harper's* magazines. In 1944 he joined the editorial staff of *Life* magazine, where he remained until 1950. Subsequently he was editor of *The Freeman* and a staff writer for both *Barron's* and the *Wall Street Journal.* Mr. Chamberlain is the author of several books on the American political scene, including *Farewell to Reform, The American State, Routes of Capitalism* and *The Enterprising American.*

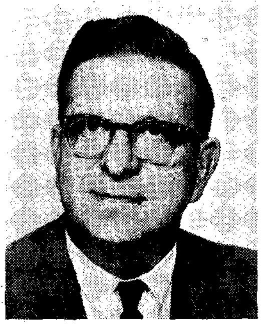
RALPH DE TOLEDANO

A syndicated columnist for King Features Syndicate, Ralph de Toledano is also the author of several books, the more notable of which are *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats, R. F. K.: The Man Who Would Be President* and *Seeds of Treason,* co-authored with Victor Lasky. Currently Mr. de Toledano is represented in the nation's bookstores by *America-I-Love-You.* Mr. de Toledano has been associate editor for *Newsweek* and *The New Leader,* chief of the Washington bureau of Taft Broadcasting, and is presently an associate editor of *National Review* and president of National News Research, Inc. In 1950 Mr. de Toledano received the Freedoms Foundation award for reporting and in 1953 he was awarded an Americanism citation by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

WILLARD EDWARDS

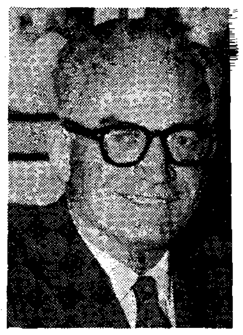
A native Chicagoan, Willard Edwards is currently residing in Washington, D.C. He has been a writer for the Chicago *Tribune* since 1925 and became one of their New York correspondents in 1934. A year later, he joined the *Tribune's* Washington News Bureau, which post he held until his recent retirement. An expert on congressional personalities and policies, Mr. Edwards still writes a column for the Chicago Tribune Syndicate. Over the years Edwards has scored dozens of journalistic scoops and was the first newspaperman to write about those famous "Pumpkin Papers," the documents that proved beyond any reasonable doubt that Alger Hiss had been an espionage agent for the Soviet Union. His columns were extremely important in the defense of Otto Otepka and Mr. Edwards also played a crucial role in getting the Nixon Administration to nominate this top-flight security officer to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

JOHN GOLDSMITH



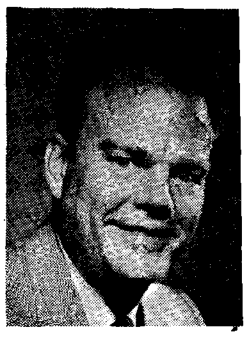
John Goldsmith began his journalistic career in 1946 with the Troy (N.Y.) *Record.* A year later he joined the United Press International as a reporter. An alumnus of Choate School and a cum laude graduate of Kenyon College, Mr. Goldsmith has served as a member and vice-chairman of the Fairfax County (Va.) School Board since 1964. He is also on the Board of Directors of the Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press. Mr. Goldsmith is presently associated with Robert S. Allen in writing their five-times-a-week syndicated column.

BARRY GOLDWATER



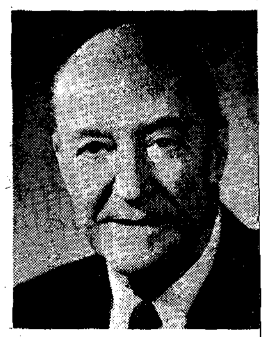
United States senator, former presidential candidate, journalist, photographer, businessma major general in the Air Force Reserve, pilot, and Colorado River rapids-rider, Barry M. Goldwater is one of the most interesting and well-liked men in politics today. As the junior senator from Arizona, he was reinstated to his prior position on the Senate Armed Services Committee. Sen. Gol water is the author of several books on wide varying topics, including *Conscience of a Co servative* and *Journey Down the River Canyons.*

PAUL HARVEY



"Hello, fellow Americans. This is Paul Harvey To millions of Americans, this is the famili opening line of one of today's most popular radio and television commentators. Paul Harvey, news analyst, author and columnist, was named Top Commentator of the Year in 1962 by the *Radio-TV Daily* and has received numerous other awards in his 30-year career, including the Freedoms Fou dation's golden award four times (1950, 51, 5 62). Mr. Harvey has been a commentator fo the American Broadcasting Co. since 1944, an a syndicated columnist for General Feature Corp. since 1954. A member of the Oklahom Hall of Fame, he was born in Tulsa in 1918.

HENRY HAZLITT



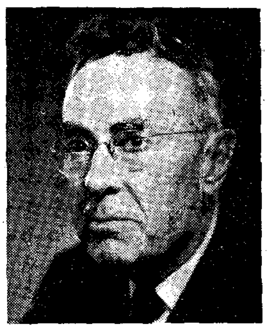
For many years a columnist for *Newswee* magazine, Henry Hazlitt is recognized as one o the leading economic writers in America. He has been observing the financial and business scene for nearly 40 years as a reporter for numerous publications, including several New York newspapers. Mr. Hazlitt has been a financial writer for *The Nation* and served on the New York *Times* editorial staff from 1934 to 1946. His column, "Business Tides," was long a weekly feature o *Newsweek.* Mr. Hazlitt is the author of several books, including two critical assessments o Keynesian economics and the popular, highly regarded *Economics in One Lesson.*

JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Syndicated columnist Jenkin Lloyd Jones has been editor of the Tulsa *Tribune* since 1941. Joining the *Tribune* staff in 1933, he moved up to the vice-presidency in 1938 and became editor three years later. Mr. Jones is a recipient of the William Allen White Award from the American Society of Newspaper Editors and served as president of that organization. As a lieutenant commander in the Navy during World War II, Mr. Jones took part in both the Iwo Jima and Okinawa campaigns. He is well known in Oklahoma for his many civic activities.

WARD KERSHNER

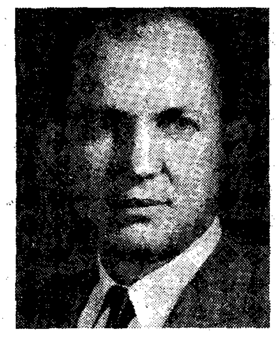
ward Kershner, whose radio program is oadcast over 155 stations, is author of the ndicated column, "It's Up You." He is perhaps st known for his long association with *Christian onomics*. A graduate of Friends University in ichita, Kan., Howard rshner did graduate rk at Harvard University d received a Litt.D. from



ove City College in 1957. Dr. Kershner has en active in the campaign to provide aid to children of Europe and Asia for more than years. He was director of the Relief in Eu-pe program for the American Friends Com-ttee and director of the International Com-ttee for Child Refugees. Dr. Kershner has so served as vice-chairman of the Save the ildren Federation and is a former director of RE. In this field, he has received medals m France, Switzerland and Belgium for his lief work during and after World War II. eedoms Foundation has twice awarded Dr. rshner its gold medal.

MES JACKSON KILPATRICK

mes Jackson Kilpatrick received his bachelor gree in journalism from the University of issouri in 1941 and later at year he joined the staff the Richmond (Va.) *ews Leader* as a re-rter. Two years later r. Kilpatrick was pro-oted to head of the *News ader's* Washington staff, position he held until 48. Later he became



ssociate editor of the newspaper and its chief ditorial writer, and finally editor. Honored the University of Missouri for distinguished rvice in journalism, Mr. Kilpatrick also holds award for editorial writing from the Sigma elta Chi, the professional journalism society, d has served as chairman of the National onference of Editorial Writers. His books in-ude *The Sovereign States, The Southern Case r School Education* and *The Lasting South, hig Home.* Mr. Kilpatrick's column is now eing distributed to newspapers around the ountry by the Washington Star Syndicate.

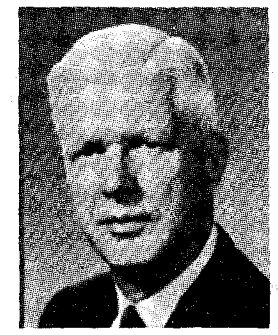
USSELL A. KIRK

uthor, educator and columnist, Russell Kirk was orn in Plymouth, Mich., in 1918. He was grad-ated from Michigan State niversity in 1940 and re-eived his M.A. from Duke niversity one year later. n 1952 Dr. Kirk was warded his D. Litt. from t. Andrew's University, cotland. Subsequently he as been honored with de-rees from Boston College,

t. John's University, Park College and LeMoyne ollege. He has lectured at Michigan State niversity, the University of Detroit, and the ew School for Social Research. Currently rof. Kirk is associated with C. W. Post College n New York. His weekly column appears in ver one hundred newspapers. The author of nany books on education and political philosophy, notably *The Conservative Mind*, and several works of fiction, Russell Kirk is presently n associate editor of *National Review* and an ctive advisory board member of both the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom.

GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane (U.S.A., Ret.) was born in Revere, Mass. in 1906. In 1928 he was graduated with honors from the United States Military Academy and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. From 1935 to 1939 Gen. Lane taught military history at West Point. Later he served with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the Southwest Pacific campaigns from New Guinea to Japan. For his service he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. In 1954 Gen. Lane was recalled to Washington to serve as Engineer Commissioner for the District of Columbia, sharing with two fellow commissioners the responsibility of governing the District of Columbia. Gen. Lane was also commander of Fort Leonard Wood and president of the Mississippi River Commission. On retirement he was awarded the Oak Leaf Cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal. Besides his syndicated column, Thomas Lane also serves as president of the Americans for Constitutional Action.



VICTOR LASKY

Victor Lasky has been a working reporter for over 20 years, beginning his career with the Chicago *Sun*, then covering World War II for the *Stars and Stripes*. After the war he joined the staff of the now-defunct New York *World Telegram and Sun*. He has written hundreds of magazine articles on national and international affairs for such varied publications as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *New Leader*, and the *Saturday Review*. As an author he is probably best known for the 1963 best-seller, *JFK: The Man and the Myth.* Mr. Lasky, along with Ralph de Toledano, also co-authored the 1950 book on the Hiss-Chambers case, *Seeds of Treason*, and in 1965 he wrote the well-received study of Soviet foreign policy, *The Ugly Russian.* His latest book is *R.F.K.: The Myth and the Man.*

RAYMOND MOLEY

A one-time Roosevelt brain-truster and former columnist for *Newsweek*, Raymond Moley was born in Berea, Ohio, in 1886, and did his undergraduate work at Baldwin-Wallace College. Later he received an M.A. from Oberlin and a Ph.D. from Columbia. While teaching at Western Reserve and Columbia Universities during the '20s Moley became concerned with the problem of crime, and participated in several study projects on the question. After serving as assistant secretary of state, Mr. Moley left the "New Deal" because of its constant shift to port and edited the magazine *Today* until 1937. In 1937 Raymond Moley joined the staff of *Newsweek* as a contributing editor. He is the author of 17 books, including *After Seven Years, Twenty-Seven Masters of Politics, How to Keep Our Liberty* and *The Republican Opportunity.*

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Born in Bloomington, Ill., in 1892, Edgar Ansel Mowrer is a long-time observer of international affairs. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he also studied at the University of Chicago and the Sorbonne in Paris. During World War I he was a Chicago *Daily News* war correspondent in France, Belgium and Italy. Following the war, he worked in the Berlin bureau of the *News* and later became its Paris bureau chief. He won a Pulitzer Prize for overseas reporting in 1932. Mr. Mowrer returned to Washington in 1940, and a year later embarked on his second extended tour of the Far East. During World War II he worked in the Office of War Information. A trustee of Freedom House in New York, Edgar Ansel Mowrer is the author of 11 books on international affairs, the latest of which is the well-received *Triumph and Turmoil.*

DR. MAX RAFFERTY

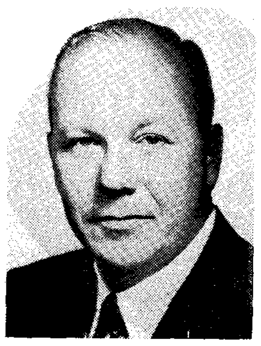
One of the most prominent educators in America today, Max Rafferty is the superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of California, a post to which he was elected in 1962 and re-elected in 1966 by an overwhelming margin. A graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles, Dr. Rafferty spent many years as a public school teacher and administrator in various districts of California before running for state office. His book, *Suffer, Little Children*, is one of the most widely read and controversial books in the field of education. Dr. Rafferty, after defeating Sen. Thomas Kuchel in the Republican primary, ran unsuccessfully for the Senate from California in 1968. His column is distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

VICTOR RIESEL

On April 5, 1956, a hoodlum stepped up to a syndicated columnist on a darkened New York street and flung acid into his eyes, permanently blinding him. The incident did not deter Victor Riesel, who has continued his exposure of racketeers and Communists involved in and outside of labor unions. The winner of 18 major journalistic awards, a recipient of the Chamber of Commerce's Greatest Living American Award and a former president of the Overseas Press Club, Mr. Riesel was born in New York City's lower East Side in 1917 and earned his college degree at night from the City College of New York. He has toured most of Europe and Scandinavia as well as many parts of Africa, and was the first reporter to crack the Iron Curtain by challenging a leading Czech broadcaster to a radio debate. Mr. Riesel has interviewed the prime ministers or presidents of 60 nations. His syndicated column, which was inaugurated in 1946, is distributed by Publishers-Hall Syndicate in New York City.

(Continued on following page)

DONALD I. ROGERS



Educated at Brown University and the University of Florida, Donald I. Rogers first began writing in 1936 for the Providence *Journal* and soon specialized in editorial and financial writing. Before entering the Army in 1944, he had gained working experience with several newspapers. A businessman with many books to his credit (*Teach Your Wife to Be a Widow, Make Your Income Count, Financial Facts of Life,* and *The End of Free Enterprise*), Mr. Rogers wrote the column "Wall Street, U.S.A." for the New York *Herald Tribune* and was business and financial editor for that newspaper. Mr. Rogers has also been editor and associate publisher for the Connecticut *Sunday Herald* and is currently the associate publisher of the *Wall Street Transcript.* He has just completed collaboration with Jimmy Hoffa on a biography entitled *Hoffa*, which will be published in August by Henry Regnery Co.

MORRIE RYSKIND

A graduate of the Columbia University School of Journalism, Morrie Ryskind earned his mark as a playwright, motion picture screenwriter, and syndicated columnist. His many plays are crowned by the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Of Thee I Sing*, which he co-authored with the famed George S. Kaufman. His movie scripts include several of the Marx Brothers comedies, notably among them the legendary "A Night at the Opera." In 1947 Mr. Ryskind, together with Ronald Reagan, Walt Disney and others, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities to testify against Communist activity in Hollywood. His syndicated column was begun in 1960 and is now handled by the Washington Star Syndicate. Mr. Ryskind's son, Allan, is Capitol Hill Editor of *Human Events.*

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See Page 5

PAUL SCOTT

Paul Scott, born in Greeley, Neb., in 1921, was educated at Monmouth College and the University of Nebraska. Even as a high school student he was covering news stories for the *Capital Greeley Citizen*, the *Scotia Register* and the *Welbach Messenger.* While attending the University of Nebraska, Mr. Scott continued to work as a part-time reporter for the Lincoln *Star.* During World War II Paul Scott serving as a naval war correspondent in the Pacific. After peace was declared, Mr. Scott returned to Nebraska and the editorial staff of the Lincoln *Star.* In 1949 he became Washington correspondent for several Nebraska newspapers and was associated for nine years with Robert S. Allen. Mr. Scott now writes his own column, which is distributed independently.

HENRY J. TAYLOR

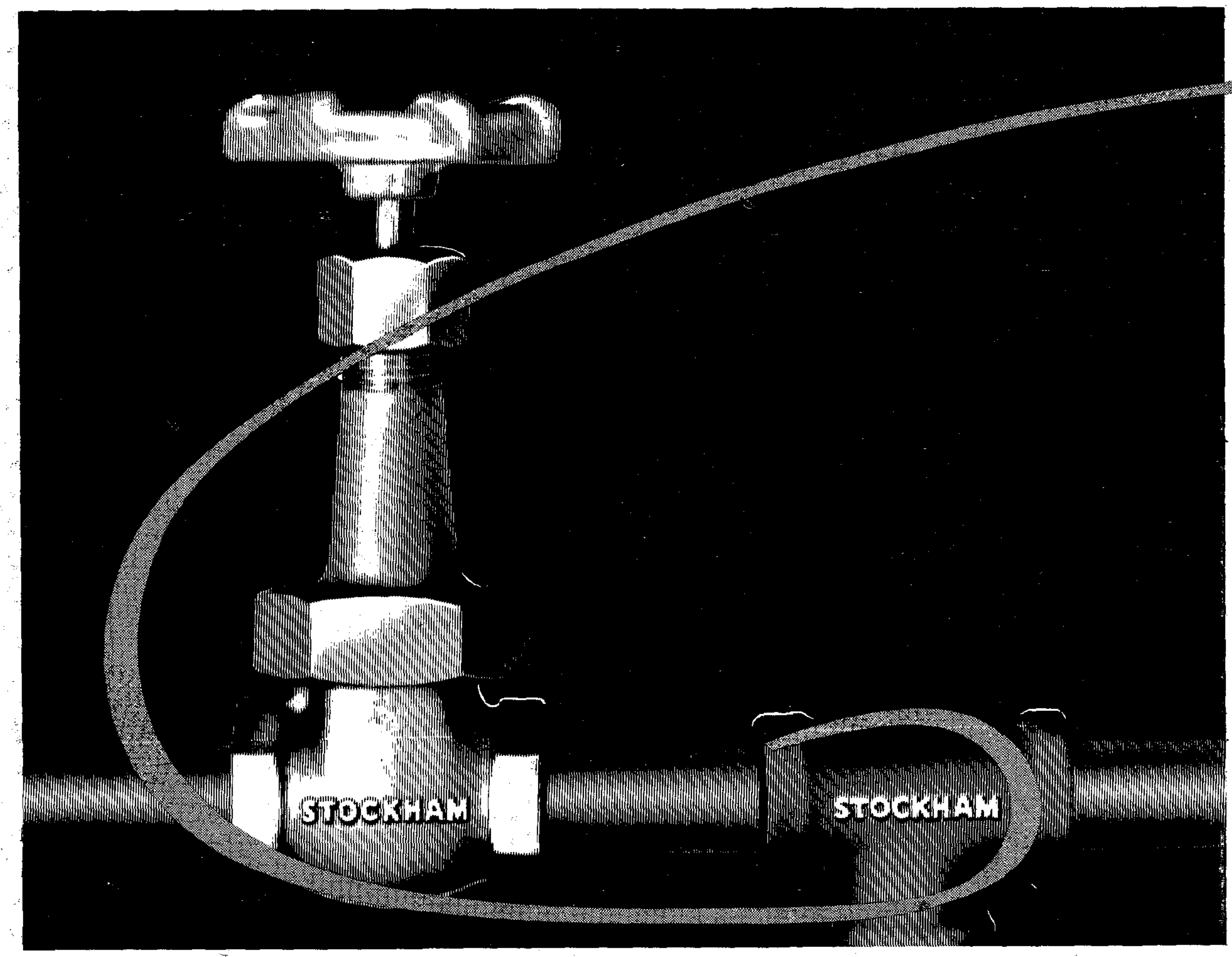
Born in Chicago and educated at the University of Virginia, Henry J. Taylor is a noted diplomat, businessman, economist, journalist and author. Long associated with the paper and pulp industry, Mr. Taylor served his country as ambassador to Switzerland (1957-1961) and as a delegate to a series of diplomatic and disarmament conferences in Geneva for President Eisenhower. As a Scripps-Howard correspondent, Mr. Taylor has toured Europe, Asia and Africa. A contributor to numerous magazines, his books include *Time Runs Out, An American Speaks His Mind,* and the novel, *The Big Man.* His current column on international affairs is syndicated by United Features.

WALTER TROHAN

Walter Trohan, for many years chief of the C cago *Tribune*'s Washington bureau, has been the capital news scene since 1934, when he became an assistant Washington correspondent for the *Tribune.* In 1936 and 1941 he covered special assignments in Latin America. Mr. Trohan also did some special reporting from Europe in 1940, was a press representative at the 1955 and 1960 summit co ferences, and covered the Foreign Ministe Conferences in 1957 and 1959. Since 19 Mr. Trohan has been a commentator for Chica radio station WGN and the Mutual Broadcasti System. He is editor of two books, *Jim Farley Story* and *The Roosevelt Years,* and is a form president of the National Press Club and Gri ron Club. Recently retired from his position *Tribune* bureau chief, Mr. Trohan continues b column for the Chicago *Tribune.* He holds bachelor of arts degree from the University Notre Dame and a doctorate of literature fro Lincoln College.

ALICE WIDENER

The U.S.A. Syndicate was started by Alic Widener in 1958 to distribute her thrice-weekl column. Since that time it has expanded rapidly and Mrs. Widener's national and international affairs column now reaches millions of readers here and abroad. Alice Widener is also the founder of *U.S.A. Magazine*, which is distributed fortnightly by subscription only. Fluent in five languages (Italian Spanish, Russian, German and French) in ad dition to English, Mrs. Widener holds the George Washington Medal of Honor from the Freedom Foundation for her article, "Letter for M Grandchildren," which denied Khrushchev's claim that our grandchildren would live unde communism. Her articles have appeared i *Woman's Home Companion, Life, Atlanti Monthly, Revue Musicale, The Freeman* an *Barron's.*



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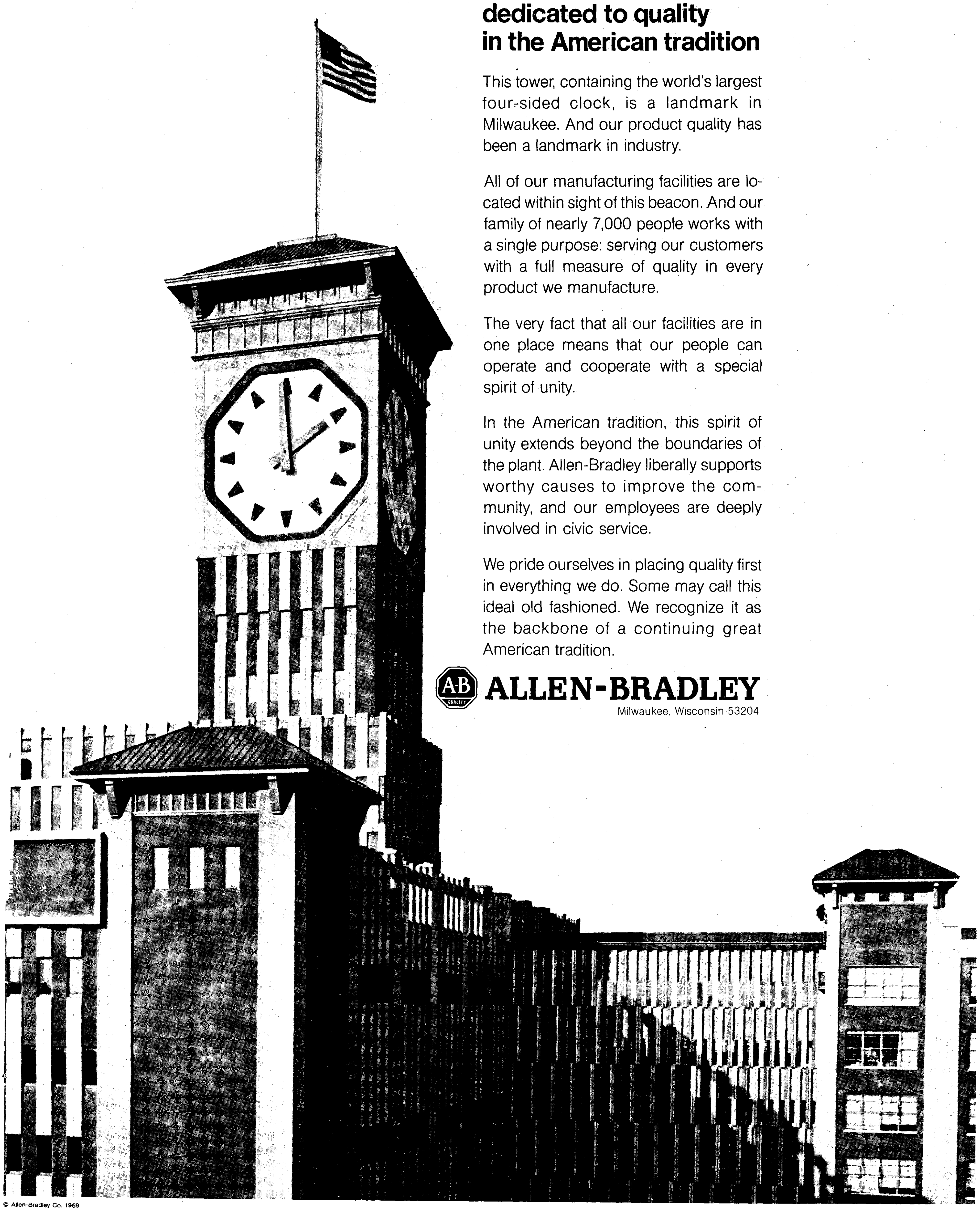

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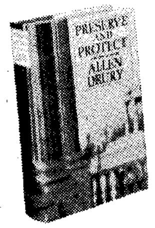
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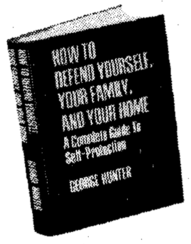
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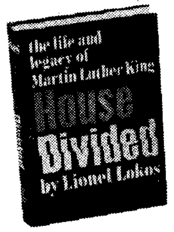
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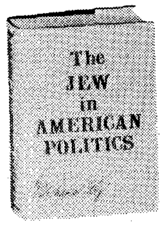
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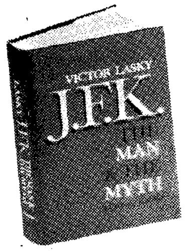
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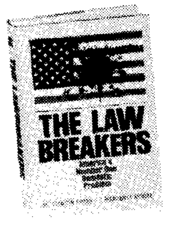
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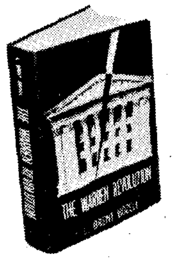
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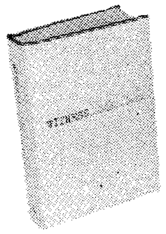
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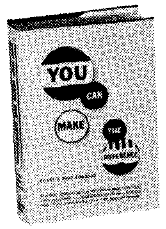
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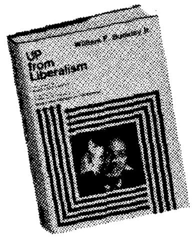
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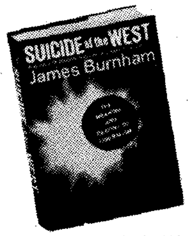
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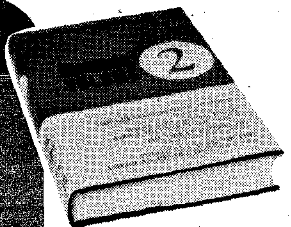
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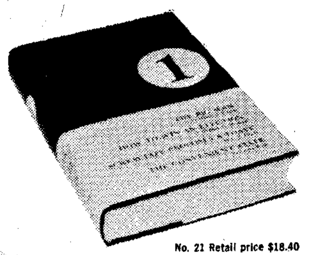
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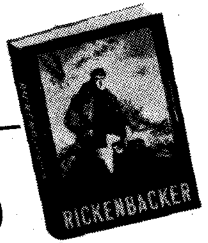
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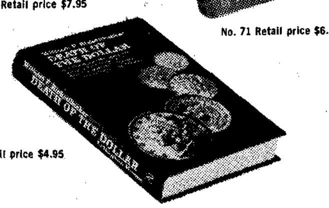
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